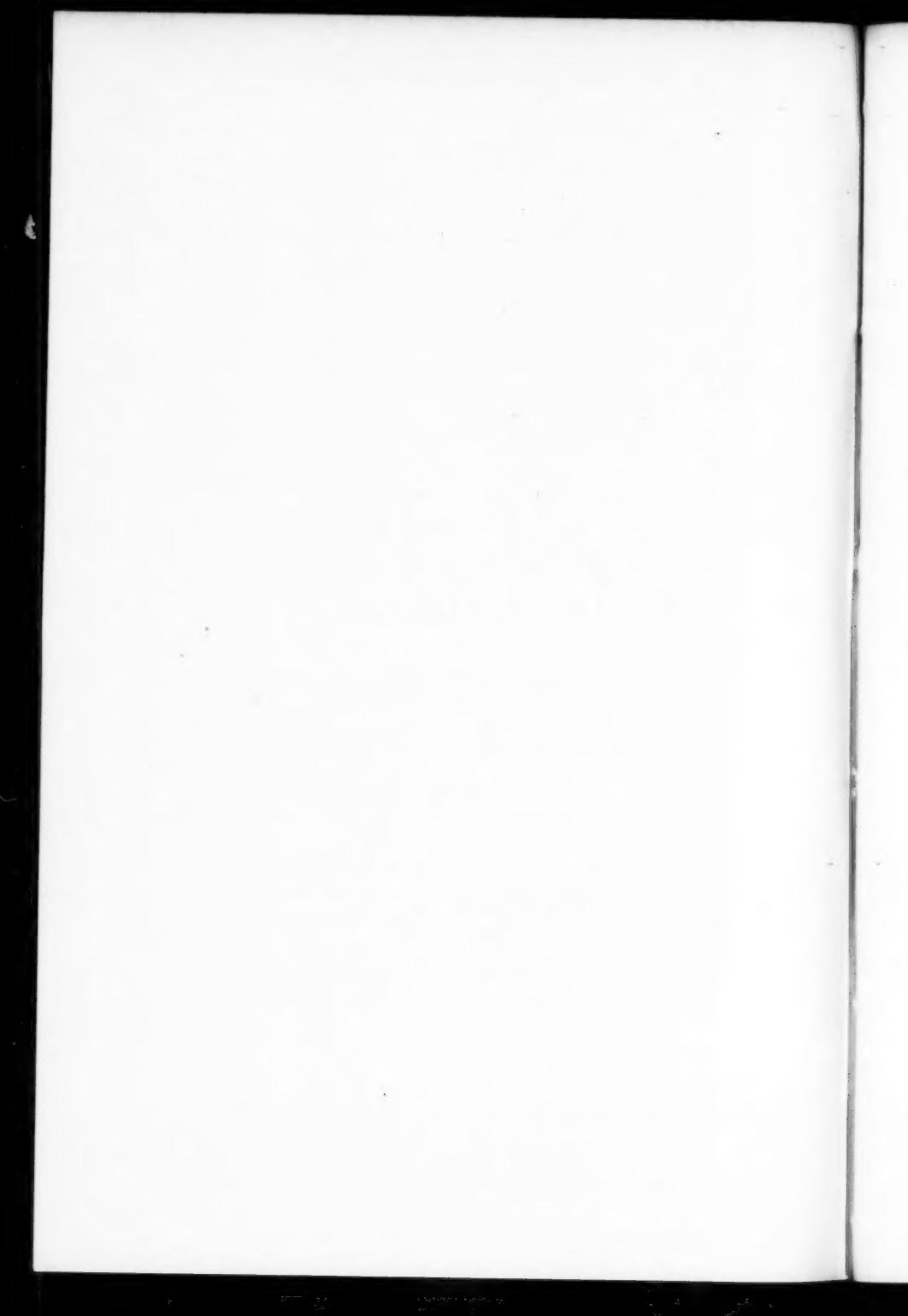


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THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN MINNESOTA¹

For a long time the farmer who made his home along the American frontier was the recipient of far greater favors than he knew. Here he might have land for next to nothing — virgin land, the fertility of which would not for many a year appreciably decline. Lack of capital was no great handicap. It took comparatively little to get a start, and if all went well the homesteader or the purchaser of cheap lands might hope in a few years — certainly less than a lifetime — to pay off his debts and to have his farm "clear." Ceaseless labor it meant, labor which aged him while he was yet young and which, falling even more heavily upon his wife, carried her to an early grave. But the returns were good. No other farmer in all the world had such an opportunity. Foreigners realized this far better than Americans and came in an ever-increasing throng to share the bounty which providence and the American government placed before them.

These free, rich lands did indeed constitute a generous subsidy for agriculture. Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury under John Quincy Adams, pointed out a third of a century before the Homestead Act went into effect that the low prices asked by the government for its land operated as a "perpetual allurement to their purchase. . . . a bounty . . . in favor of agricultural pursuits." To him it appeared that the manufacturer was the one who labored against odds. Rush even maintained that "the further encouragement of manufactures by legislative means, would be but a counter-balance, and at most a partial one, to the encouragement to agriculture" inherent in the "terms upon which the public lands are sold."²

¹ Read on June 20, 1924, at the state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Detroit.

² Secretary of the Treasury, *State of Finances*, 25 (20 Congress, 1 session, *House Documents*, no. 4 — serial 169).

But the era of free lands could not last forever. Well before the close of the nineteenth century they were practically gone. The price of land had begun to climb. The landless farmer now had increasing difficulty in making a start, and the farmer who had land saw his land values appreciate without furnishing him a corresponding increase in income. The "subsidy" to agriculture had run out, and there was nothing to place in its stead. The farmer must now take his chances with the rest.

He found the competition keen enough. That spirit of ruthless conquest with which he and his progenitors had attacked the woodlands and the prairies had passed into all things American. By the end of the eighties the railways had overtaken the frontier at every point — indeed, they had appeared in time to aid materially in speeding it to an end. Their methods were the methods of the pioneer. They built with blind optimism and with prodigal expenditure wherever there seemed to be the slightest hope of gain. They relied upon and obtained the generous help of the government. They "watered" their stock well before they sold it. And they charged all the traffic would bear. Here was no mean competitor!

Nor were the railroads the only rivals the farmer had to meet. There were other corporations, usually called trusts, which with a lasting and dependable protective tariff behind them were leading the farmer a merry race. There were the trusts which furnished him with the things he wore; there were the trusts which furnished him with the machines he had to use; there were the trusts which furnished him with the fuel he had to burn; there were the trusts which furnished him with the materials of which he built his home, his barns, his fences. And worst of all, there were the trusts to which he must sell his produce — an elevator combine, a miller's ring, a packer's trust. They all played the game in true pioneer fashion. They were there to get all that they could out of a

rich virgin soil. Was not this a free country? Had they not the same rights as anyone else? Who was to tell them what prices they were to charge or to give? That was for them to decide. If people didn't like their prices they knew what they could do.

And then there were the money-lenders. Ever since the Civil War the accumulation of capital, especially in the manufacturing regions of the East, had been going on apace. Here money to loan was available in large quantities, and the western lands, with their appreciating values, furnished excellent security.³ As for interest rates, the sky was the limit. The western farmer always wanted money badly and could rarely resist the temptation to borrow on any terms. His optimism, born of a never-faltering faith in the future, derived from generations of pioneer ancestors, made him certain that he could repay. He mortgaged his lands for all they were worth, whether it was absolutely necessary or not. As a rule, however, it was absolutely necessary. The latest improved machinery cost money even when purchased on the installment plan; and a long succession of bad years, due to drouths, grasshoppers, and hail, cost more.

These, then, were the competitors — the railroads, the trusts, and the bankers — who disputed with the farmer every step in the race for prosperity. The condition, to be sure, was not altogether new. Ever since the West began the pioneer had had to struggle with the problem of too costly transportation. He had never known a time when the price of the things he had to buy was not as much too high as the price of the things he had to sell was too low. He had had his troubles with banks and bankers. But these earlier days were the days of cheap lands and when things went wrong the disgruntled sought solace in another move to the West. Here was the chance for a new start. Broader acres, more

³ Hallie Farmer, "The Economic Background of Frontier Populism," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 410 (March, 1924).

fertile fields would surely bring the desired results. And with the restless moving ever on and on the more stable elements of society who were left behind made progress that was steady and sure. Now with the lands used up this safety valve was closed. The frontier was turned back upon itself. The restless and discontented voiced their sentiments more and fled from them less. There was a veritable chorus of denunciation directed against those individuals and those corporations who sought their own advantage without regard to the effect their actions would have upon the farmer and his interests.⁴

Premonitions of the gathering storm had not been lacking. In the seventies the farmers protested through the Granger movement against the methods by which the railroads wrung profits from them. The movement was short-lived, however, although it did indeed establish the principle that the roads must submit to state regulation even of their rates. Perhaps its most important contribution — the lesson it taught the farmers of the necessity of coöperation — was less tangible. They learned that by combining they could get a hearing, even if they could not at first accomplish great results. This was a hard lesson to learn and was perhaps never fully mastered, for the pioneer farmer was by practice and precept an individualist. Like his ancestors before him he wished to manage his own affairs in his own way, and he asked only to be let alone. But alone he was unable to face effectively the combinations and corporations that opposed him, and clearly the only hope lay in opposing combination by combination. After the Granger movement came the Greenback movement, with its protest against the steadily mounting value of the dollar and, correspondingly, of the farmers' debts. And then came the Alliance.⁵

⁴ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 275-281 (New York, 1920).

⁵ An excellent summary of the history of these movements is presented by Solon J. Buck in *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (The *Chronicles of America Series*, vol. 45 — New Haven, 1920).

The history of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota is fairly typical of the whole movement, the development of which differed in the various western states in detail but not much in kind. After beginning in a small way early in the eighties, the organization by the end of the decade had drawn to its support an enormous following, especially in the western and newer portions of the state. The Alliance at first made no pretense of entering politics as a third party; indeed, its leaders expressly denied that it had any such desire. What it did propose to do, however, was to secure legislation through the older parties, or through any available means, for the benefit of the rural classes. It interested itself especially in the selection of farmers and friends of the farmers to sit in the legislature, trusting that through their votes such laws as were needed could be passed. As early as 1885 this policy had netted results. In that year a state railroad and warehouse commission was created to which regulatory powers of seemingly great importance were given — powers which the legislature of 1887, even more completely under the influence of the farmers than its predecessor, was able to increase.*

The farmers' regulations, however, were by no means agreeable to the railways and the elevator companies against whose practices they were aimed, and means of evading objectionable laws were generally discovered. If worst came to worst the courts could be depended upon to set aside any really effective legislation on the grounds of deprivation of property "without due process of law." Moreover, the game of controlling legislatures was one in which the farmers were not well versed, whereas their opponents had had long experience. When the legislature of 1889 met it soon became apparent that the farmers had been outplayed. "The railroad corporations are now jubilant," the Alliance leaders mourned. "They have defeated the re-election to the House of many

* For a fuller statement see John D. Hicks, "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 9: 203-222 (December, 1922).

of the men who defended our rights. The great newspapers are not on our side. The corporations propose to send a railroad man to the United States Senate. They intend to eventually unite all the railroads of the United States into one great 'trust.' " " This legislature," wrote another prophet of disaster, " will be controlled by the worst enemies of the human race and the American people, the corporations. A few years ago the corporations did not possess much power and did not control legislation. Now, the great danger of the country is from the combinations of soulless corporations." * The absence of leadership among the farmers in the legislature of 1889 was at once apparent. Although there were thirty-three of them in the House of Representatives they fell to fighting among themselves, and were unable so much as to select a candidate for speaker whom they could all support. Their efforts to secure further remedial legislation were half-hearted and wholly unsuccessful.

It was this breakdown of the Alliance program of non-partisan and bipartisan activity that led finally to the attempt to form an independent political party. The movement, moreover, was a ground swell, having its origin more in the desperate financial condition of the farmers than in the plans or hopes of a few determined leaders. Indeed the one really outstanding leader of the reform forces in Minnesota, Ignatius Donnelly, appeared at this time, for reasons best known to himself, to be definitely against third party action.¹⁰ When the annual meeting of the state alliance convened in March, 1890, it was apparent that neither Donnelly nor any other

* From a four-page pamphlet containing a circular letter signed by the officers of the state alliance and headed "Headquarters State Farmers' Alliance," in the Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 7. The Donnelly Scrapbooks, Papers, and Letter Books are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁸ P. Cudmore to Donnelly, January 12, 1889, Donnelly Papers.

⁹ *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul and Minneapolis), January 8, 1889.

¹⁰ John D. Hicks, "The Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 8:115 (June-September, 1921).

leader could long hold back the tide. The gathering, according to the *Minneapolis Journal*, was noted for two things—"an immense flood of resolutions and an attendance that crowded the House of Representatives to the doors." The resolutions were doubtless Donnelly's, and in them his doctrine of the union of all the producing classes of the world to protect themselves from the robberies of the non-producers found adequate expression. The platform contained twenty-five planks and voiced demands for laws to prevent railway and elevator discriminations, to provide for the taxation of mortgages, to prevent the exaction of usurious rates of interest, and incidentally—eleventh in the list—to increase the volume of the currency. But it was one thing to accept Donnelly's facile pen as a means of assuring adequate expression of Alliance grievances and quite another to accept his leadership of the movement. Had Donnelly been wholeheartedly in favor of third party action doubtless he might have fared better. By a vote of 159 to 134, however, the alliance presidency was withheld from him and conferred upon a far less conspicuous worker, R. J. Hall, whose mind, it was thought, could be more certainly trusted to go along with the will of the masses.¹¹

That will found adequate expression in a convention held in St. Paul on July 16, 1890, with the avowed purpose of putting a full ticket in the field. The call came from the executive committee of the state alliance in response to instructions from a large number of local chapters, and it met with the enthusiastic approval of Alliance men all over the state. It recited some of the chief grievances which the farmers felt and announced, as a full and complete apology for the contemplated action, that "No party has had the courage to undertake to free us from these and kindred evils." The size of the convention which responded to the call attests

¹¹ *Minneapolis Journal*, March 5, 6, 1890; *St. Paul Daily News*, March 6, 1890; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 7, 1890.

somewhat the interest in the movement. There were 505 delegates, of whom 53 were representatives of the various trades unions of the Twin Cities. Donnelly, who by this time had climbed into the band wagon and, notwithstanding his protests to the contrary, was fully receptive towards the Alliance nomination for governor, claimed to be responsible for the inclusion of the labor leaders. If so, they repaid him but badly for his favor, for they joined with his opponents to nominate for governor the editor of a well-known Minneapolis farm journal, Sidney M. Owen. Donnelly probably had a nominating majority of the Alliance men. It was the labor vote that defeated him. Had the convention been free to do as it chose, however, it would doubtless have passed by both Donnelly and Owen to give the nomination to Knute Nelson, whose independence in politics had attracted much attention, but Nelson hoisted the Republican banner and refused to pull it down.¹²

The election which followed was full of excitement. Donnelly threatened for a time to sulk in his tent, but at length came out for Owen. "At the convention we put up a man whom I thought was an accident," he said. "But the course was a wise one, and I think the nomination of S. M. Owen was directed by an over-ruling Providence."¹³ The Alliance forces were fully aroused to their opportunity and their leaders made a strenuous campaign. Low prices and poor crops counted even more heavily than oratory in their favor. For governor the Republican candidate, William R. Merriam, received 88,111 votes; Thomas Wilson, the

¹² *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 17, 1890; *St. Paul News*, July 15, 17, 18, 1890; *Daily Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), July 18, 1890; *Minneapolis Journal*, July 19, 1890; *Great West* (St. Paul), July 25, 1890; Eugene V. Smalley, ed., *History of the Republican Party*, 232 (St. Paul, 1896); *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia and Register of Important Events*, 1890, p. 556; Jacob A. O. Preus, "Knute Nelson," *ante*, p. 336.

¹³ From a clipping headed "Rice County," which includes a résumé of a speech made by Donnelly at Faribault on October 9, 1890, in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

Democrat, had 85,844; and Owen, the Alliance, 58,513. Adolf Bierman, who had been nominated for state auditor both by the Democrats and by the Alliance men, was triumphantly elected. Otherwise the whole Republican state ticket pulled through. In the Congressional elections the Alliance fared better. Here the Republicans lost two of the five districts in the state to Democrats and two to Alliance men. The one Republican they succeeded in sending to Congress was John Lind, whose later career would seem to cast doubt on the importance of his triumph to the Grand Old Party. As for the state legislature, the Alliance men held the balance of power in each house, no party having a majority.¹⁴

The leadership of the Alliance movement in Minnesota was now assumed definitely by Donnelly, who had been elected to the state Senate and by his conduct during the campaign had convinced the rank and file of the Alliance following that he stood for independent political action. At a state convention held late in December Donnelly won the alliance presidency by an overwhelming vote, and when the legislature convened in the following month he directed the Alliance strategy.¹⁵ Donnelly's plan was to weld the Alliance men firmly together into a bloc which could throw its influence to the Republican or to the Democratic side in each chamber as expediency might demand. At first he had considerable success. The farmer members met with him to discuss plans of procedure and prospective legislation, and they willingly followed his leadership.¹⁶ Finding the Democratic members more inclined to make concessions than the Republicans, he speedily formed an Alliance-Democratic combination with

¹⁴ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1890, p. 557; *St. Paul Globe*, December 30, 1890; *Minnesota, Legislative Manual*, 1891, p. 555; Smalley, *Republican Party*, 236.

¹⁵ *St. Paul News*, December 31, 1890.

¹⁶ *St. Paul Globe*, January 14, 15, 1891; and numerous clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

which he succeeded in organizing both houses. In the Senate this occasioned an interesting conflict between Donnelly and the Republican presiding officer, Gideon S. Ives. According to long-established precedent the lieutenant governor in Minnesota was charged with the unique and important duty of appointing all committees. When Lieutenant Governor Ives refused to attend to Donnelly's insistent demand that leading committee assignments be given to himself and to his Alliance brethren, the Alliance-Democratic combination voted to vest committee appointments in the Senate and not in the chair—and as a consequence the Alliance men got the places they sought. The Republicans protested bitterly, even refusing to select minority members on the committees named, but their protests were unavailing.¹⁷

"The sky is luminous with promise," Donnelly had written the autumn before, when he first learned of his election to the state Senate.¹⁸ Unfortunately, however, most of the promises were never fulfilled. A comprehensive amendment to the constitution, providing among other things that elevators and warehouses for grain should be deemed public warehouses and that the state should have the right to fix the rates of storage, lacked one of the necessary majority when voted on in the Senate.¹⁹ Other Alliance measures fared about as well. This was probably Donnelly's most conspicuous term in the legislature, yet scarcely a bill that he advocated became law. His supporters dropped from him one by one, and when the session was over only a fraction of his famous legislative bloc was on hand to affix signatures to a grandiose "Alliance Manifesto," which told what noble things the

¹⁷ *St. Paul Globe*, January 7, 10, 16, 1891; *Pioneer Press*, January 10, 1891. See also an interesting letter from Lieutenant Governor Ives to Donnelly, December 20, 1890, in the Donnelly Papers.

¹⁸ Donnelly to Dr. William W. Mayo, November 6, 1890, Donnelly Letter Books, 4: 183.

¹⁹ *St. Paul Globe*, March 14, 1891; clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

Alliance men had tried in vain to do and acknowledged that they were "defeated, but not disheartened."²⁰

Meanwhile, the prospect of doing on a national scale what the Alliance was attempting to do in Minnesota and elsewhere on a smaller scale had attracted much attention. After all, there were certain problems which lay beyond the bounds of state authority. There was a genuine reluctance on the part of Alliance men to regard the tariff as an important political issue inasmuch as it was the favorite political football of the older parties; yet the McKinley tariff bill was anathema to the farmers, and only through national legislation could the tariff be touched. The trusts, too, were usually beyond the reach of the state governments; the railways could be controlled only by the nation; and then there was the "crime of 1873." More and more the western agitators came to believe that all the ills of their section were traceable to the conspiracy against silver which denied to a rapidly growing country an adequate volume of currency. The West had always sought panaceas. It had never shown much willingness to submit its ailments to expert analysis, much less to follow patiently annoying directions which pointed only to a slow and none too certain cure. Instinctively it preferred a patent medicine to a physician's prescription, and a magnificent cure-all was at hand:

The dollar of our daddies,
Of silver coinage free,
Will make us rich and happy
Will bring prosperity.²¹

Free silver won the West precisely because it promised the most with the least bother. Exactly what it meant or why it would help, the average man who believed in it could rarely tell. But the greater his ignorance of the subject the pro-

²⁰ *St. Paul Globe*, April 22, 1891.

²¹ The authorship of this verse, which was found, undated, among the Luman H. Weller Papers in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is credited to M. H. Daley.

founder his faith in it. And free silver, despite the misguided efforts of a few western legislatures, was a blessing which only the national government could confer.

Those agitators who favored a nation-wide party and a nation-wide program of reform finally had their way when a great mass convention, held at Cincinnati in May, 1891, formally launched the People's party. Minnesota was brought into considerable prominence during these proceedings by the activities of Ignatius Donnelly, the leader of the Minnesota delegation, who perhaps did more than any other one man there to make certain that independent action would be taken.²² Donnelly had often before preached the necessity of a national reform party, and he now once more embraced the idea with his customary warmth. Upon returning to Minnesota he made every effort to lead the state farmers' alliance (over which he still presided) into the new movement, and he succeeded well in his undertaking — indeed, he could hardly have prevented the steady growth of the Populist ranks within the state had he tried.

Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to overlook the fact that there was noteworthy opposition to abandoning the local Alliance party, organized in 1890, in order to make way for the newer national party. Many ardent and convinced reformers questioned the wisdom of emphasizing national rather than state issues, as a national party must needs do. Win the state first for reform, they argued; put into effect the program which the Alliance had advocated for so long a time and there would then be time enough to capture the national citadel. To these reformers the idea of fusion with the Democrats was by no means unthinkable, for it was the program, not the party, to which they were devoted.²³ They were, moreover, exceedingly mistrustful of Donnelly, whose

²² *Pioneer Press*, May 20, 1891; clippings in Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 8.

²³ *St. Paul Globe*, January 4, March 14, 1892; *Chicago Times*, February 4, 1892; *Great West*, April 1, 1892.

constant search for some new thing had often led him rather far afield. They warred with him openly, accusing him of seeking only his own political advantage at the expense of the cause he pretended to serve. He fought back, as was his custom, and the real issue at stake — whether the national or the state program should take precedence — was buried completely from view by a flood of personalities, in which neither side, to quote an impartial observer, "succeeded in advancing very convincing proof of the irredeemable wickedness of the other."²⁴

The men who had managed the campaign for Owen in 1890 were the leaders of the anti-Donnelly faction. They still controlled the Alliance state central committee, and they took rather unfair advantage of their opponents by calling an Alliance convention to meet at St. Paul on July 7, 1892; for at that time Donnelly would be attending the great People's party gathering at Omaha and he would, therefore, be unable to combat his enemies in person. The convention was well attended, named a full state ticket, and adopted a lengthy platform of traditional Alliance principles.²⁵ But when the Omaha convention was over and the Minnesota delegates had returned, the stronger appeal of national Populism at once asserted itself. A week after the anti-Donnelly Alliance gathering had concluded its labors 650 representatives of the new party met in St. Paul, named an entirely different ticket, headed by Donnelly for governor, and so effectively eclipsed the earlier convention in numbers and enthusiasm that the Alliance candidates soon withdrew. The Minnesota Populists naturally echoed in their platform the Omaha pronouncement, which Donnelly had so lately helped to write; but they took care to recognize state issues, although in far less detail than their rivals. They demanded more effective state control of corporations and transportation companies; erection by the

²⁴ *St. Paul Dispatch*, March 12, 1892.

²⁵ *St. Paul Globe*, July 7, 8, 1892; Smalley, *Republican Party*, 238.

state of terminal elevators at Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth; and, strikingly enough, amendment of the state constitution in such a way as to provide that all laws passed by the legislature must be referred back to the people for their approval. It was clear, however, that the state platform was meant merely to supplement the national program of reform upon which obviously the main attention was to center.²⁶

Upon the Republicans rested the chief responsibility for meeting the Populist attack, and they managed their campaign with skill. They proposed to "pull the whole Alliance back into the Republican party" by the nomination for governor of Knute Nelson, whose stand on public questions — particularly the tariff — had been so far in harmony with Alliance views that in 1890 the revolting farmers could scarcely be restrained from adopting him into their fold and nominating him for governor. "If the Alliance doesn't come nearer Knute Nelson's conception of political orthodoxy than the Republican party then his views are not in consonance with his acts," is what one Democratic editor thought about it. Nelson, moreover, was a leader among the Scandinavians, and as the same irreverent observer declared, was "supposed to carry the Norwegian vote of the State in the coat-tail pocket of his trousers." If anyone could win for the Republicans, certainly Nelson was the man.²⁷

Lawler, the Democratic nominee, was a Catholic whose nomination, Donnelly claimed, was engineered by James J. Hill and other leading Democrats to cut into the heavy vote which Donnelly would normally receive from members of the Catholic church, particularly the Irish members.²⁸ However that might be, these leaders doubtless did use their

²⁶ *St. Paul News*, July 15, 1892; *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 15, 1892; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1892, p. 470.

²⁷ *Broad Axe* (St. Paul), September 24, 1891; February 25, August 25, 1892.

²⁸ *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 10, 1892; *Duluth Daily News*, September 9, 1892; *Penny Press* (Minneapolis), June 8, 1894.

influence to block all efforts to bring about fusion between the Democrats and the Populists. They probably reasoned that the Populist strength would be drawn mainly from the Republican ranks and that with the opposition divided the Democrats had a fighting chance to win. Also they hated Donnelly with a mighty hatred and could never have supported a ticket which bore his name at the top.²⁹

The Populists really expected to win Minnesota in 1892. Indeed, the Alliance showing in 1890 had been so remarkable that even the Republicans, who had not lost a state election since 1858, felt somewhat alarmed. Donnelly fought for all he was worth—he even began his fight months before he was nominated. "We are making a tremendous campaign," he wrote to "Calamity" Weller of Iowa. "I start out tomorrow to begin a series of 65 speeches before July. After July I shall be at work all the time."³⁰ "From Forge and Farm; from Shop and Counter; from Highways and Firesides;" ran a Donnelly broadside, "come and hear the 'Great Commoner' on the mighty issues which are moving mankind to the ballot box in the great struggle for their rights." And the crowds came. When Nelson took the stump to bare Donnelly's erratic record and to urge the greater dependability of the Republican candidates and platform, Donnelly promptly

²⁹ Some bargains, however, were struck between the Democrats and the Populists. Minnesota in 1892 was entitled to nine electoral votes. The Democrats nominated only five electors on their own ticket; they then gave their indorsement to four of the electors nominated by the Populists. In the ensuing election the total vote for the four "fusion" electors was 110,465; the five straight Populist electors received 29,313 votes; and the five Democratic electors, 100,920. Harrison, with 112,823 votes, had a substantial plurality and the nine electoral votes of Minnesota were cast for the Republican ticket. In state politics the Democrats and the Populists joined in the nomination of Daniel Buck and Thomas Cantly, who were elected to the Minnesota Supreme Court. *Congressional Record*, 52 Congress, 2 session, 1321; *Legislative Manual*, 1893, p. 228, 374, 377; *Farm, Stock and Home*, 9: 242 (May 1, 1893); *Representative* (St. Paul), April 19, 1893.

³⁰ April 15, 1892, Weller Papers.

challenged his chief opponent to a public debate, and taunted him unpleasantly about his plutocratic associates. But Nelson wisely declined to mix with the versatile Irishman, as did also Lawler, whom Donnelly generously included in the invitation.³¹

The result of the election demonstrated plainly enough the hard and uncertain road a new political party has to travel to achieve success. People's party enthusiasts had predicted freely that their ticket would poll a hundred thousand votes and carry the state. Instead the result fell far below the Alliance record of 1890. Donnelly's vote was more than eighteen thousand under that given to Owen two years before, a fact not to be explained on the ground of personal unpopularity, for Donnelly ran nearly eleven thousand votes ahead of Weaver, the People's party candidate for president. Nelson won the governorship handily, but he trailed Harrison in the state some ten thousand votes; and Lawler was a full five thousand votes behind Cleveland. In the Congressional contests also the People's party was less effective than its predecessor had been in the election of 1890, winning but a single district, and that by the slender margin of eighty-five votes. Two districts went to the Democrats, and the other four (the state then had seven representatives) to the Republicans. In the state legislature the new party was reduced to a scant two dozen votes all told.³²

It is not easy to explain this disastrous slump where an easy victory had been predicted. It was doubtless due in no small measure to two somewhat related causes: first, the division among reformers themselves as to the wisdom of

³¹ Donnelly Scrapbooks, vol. 11; *St. Paul Dispatch*, August 13, 1892; *Minneapolis Tribune*, September 1, 1892; *Marshall County Banner* (Argyle), October 20, 1892; James H. Baker, *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota*, 339 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 13).

³² *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1892, p. 470; 1893, p. 497; *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 13, 1892; Baker, *Lives of the Governors*, 339; Smalley, *Republican Party*, 241.

sidetracking the local Alliance party with its emphasis upon state issues to make way for the People's party and a national program of reform; and second, the fact that 1892 was a presidential year. The abandonment of traditional party lines was far less difficult when purely state and local issues were involved. When the control of the national government was at stake many evidently halted and turned back.³³

Perhaps the greatest importance of third parties is to be found in the way in which they force the older parties to take up and make effective the radical plans they propose. The nomination of Nelson by the Republicans was in the nature of a guarantee to the farmers of the state that the legislation they demanded would not long be delayed, and under Nelson's leadership some notable laws were passed. State inspection of the weighing and grading of grain at the great terminal points, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, had been put into effect under a law of 1885, but the farmers still complained that they were defrauded at the country elevators. A law of 1893 extended the benefit of state inspection to those sellers of grain who could not avoid dealing through local grain merchants. Another law increased the punishment meted out to individuals who were responsible for the creation of pools and trusts, providing that in addition to the punishment by fine already assigned there should be also imprisonment of from one to ten years in the penitentiary. Still another law provided for the purchase of a site and the erection by the state of an elevator at Duluth, to be managed and operated by the state warehouse commission. This was precisely what the Populists had demanded in their platform,

³³ This conclusion is further borne out by the results of subsequent elections. The year 1894 was, like 1890, a far better third party year than 1892 in Minnesota. Comparisons between 1894 and 1896 are not easily made because of the fusion in the latter year of Democrats and Populists, but 1898 was a better Fusionist year than either 1896 or 1900. On all three occasions John Lind headed the Fusion ticket, but in 1896 and 1900 he lost, whereas in 1898 he was elected.

but the law never went into effect — perhaps it was never so intended. The state attorney-general ruled against the project, and his opinion was later upheld by the state supreme court, which declared the act unconstitutional and void. An attempt to place upon the tax list all unsold railway land grants likewise failed.³⁴

It is a law of third party movements that once an older party begins to adopt the reforms originally demanded, the new party, if it continues to exist, must and does plunge still further ahead. It was so in Minnesota in 1893. In earlier years the legislation noted would have been about all that the reformers themselves could have asked. Now they had plans far more extensive. They had indeed passed beyond the point where any program of state legislation would satisfy them. The panic of 1893 with its attendant hard times converted many who had had their doubts before to the belief that nation-wide reforms of the most radical and thorough-going sort were necessary. Converts to the free silver heresy were especially numerous. In August, 1893, a great free silver convention, held at Chicago, sounded the call to action in a set of resolutions doubtless drafted by the redoubtable Donnelly himself.³⁵ Free silver thereafter made tremendous inroads into the older parties. When Cleveland accomplished the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Law in 1894 such prominent Minnesota Republicans as John Lind, Frank A. Day, and George N. Lanphere came out openly for free silver, and the Democratic state convention made itself ridiculous by indorsing Grover Cleveland and free silver in the same paragraph. That the white metal could work miracles multitudes verily believed. The writer of an editorial in the *Representative* declared that "It means work for the thousands who now tramp the streets of Minneapolis, St. Paul and

³⁴ Minnesota, *General Laws*, 1893, p. 131-138, 140-143, 251; Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission, *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 8-20; 1894, p. 35; 56 Minnesota, 100; *Broad Axe*, October 4, 1894.

³⁵ *Chicago Times*, August 2, 1893; *Chicago Tribune*, August 3, 1893.

Duluth, not knowing where their next meal is coming from. It means food and clothing for the thousands of hungry and ill-clad women and children in these cities. It means the restoration of confidence in the business world. It means the re-opening of closed factories, the relighting of darkened furnaces; it means hope instead of despair; comfort in place of suffering; life instead of death." ³⁶

All this trend towards free silver meant a great influx into the ranks of the People's party, which alone had a clear record on the silver question. The Republican party in its state convention of July 11, 1894, made its stand on a type of bimetallism which favored the maintenance of a "substantial parity of value of every dollar in circulation with that of every other dollar." ³⁷ As for the Democrats any local pronouncement that they might make favorable to free silver was of little importance in view of the hostile stand which Cleveland had seen fit to take. But the Populists had always been for free silver, they were for it still, and in their direction the discontented masses turned.

The Republicans were almost in a panic as they confronted the crisis precipitated by the approach of the state elections of 1894. That the result would hinge upon national rather than state issues, and especially upon free silver, no one could doubt. Nor could anyone doubt that the hard times were making converts for the Populists "every day and hour." ³⁸ "All the [country] newspapers are turning Populist," one gloomy writer proclaimed, and "of the papers printed in any of the Scandinavian languages which retain the Republican spirit pure and without bias, only two are left." ³⁹ Among the Populists there was far greater harmony than there had

³⁶ *Penny Press*, June 8, 1894; *Broad Axe*, September 6, 1894; *Representative*, September 12, 19, 1894. Beginning in May, 1894, the *Representative* was published in Minneapolis.

³⁷ *Representative*, July 18, 1894; Preus, *ante*, p. 337.

³⁸ *Representative*, May 2, 1894.

³⁹ Quoted from the *Minneapolis Tribune* of June 15, 1894, in the *Representative* of June 20, 1894.

been two years before, although minor disturbances were by no means wanting. By common consent they passed by Donnelly, the unsuccessful standard-bearer of 1892, in order to renominate for governor Sidney M. Owen, whose record as Alliance candidate in 1890 had been so phenomenal. They admitted to their convention also a large and enthusiastic labor delegation which chose from its ranks the party candidate for secretary of state, and they adopted a platform of principles which placed the money question ahead of every other consideration. Their money stand, in fact, went much further than free silver, for even free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of sixteen to one was not enough to satisfy the old-time Greenbackers who were still present in numbers. The convention therefore demanded in addition "a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private," in quantity "not less than \$50 per capita." Other reforms, mostly bearing on national affairs, were also advocated, among them government savings banks; government ownership of the railway, telegraph, and telephone systems of the country; income and inheritance taxes; the reclamation of excessive railway land grants; direct election of the president, vice president, and United States senators; and equal suffrage for men and women. Trusts and combines were roundly denounced, and the Republican administration in Minnesota was duly charged with high crimes and misdemeanors.⁴⁰

Nelson was renominated by the Republicans and again bore the brunt of the Populist attack. He made a tremendous campaign and succeeded in drawing to his standard many conservative Democrats, who felt that the real choice lay between him and Owen. Indeed, the Democratic candidate for governor, George L. Becker, was freely accused by the Populists of being nothing more than a tool in Republican

⁴⁰ *Broad Axe*, July 12, 1894; *Representative*, July 18, August 1, 1894; Smalley, *Republican Party*, 243.

hands used to impede the very obvious drift of the less conservative Democrats to the Populist camp. Becker was at the time of his nomination a member of the bipartisan state board of railroad commissioners by appointment of Governor Nelson, and although he resigned to make the race he remained on very friendly terms with his former chief throughout the campaign. "Republican papers laud Becker to the skies," one Populist objected, "and the Democrats treat Knute with the greatest respect." ⁴¹

Populist hopes of victory were once more shattered. Owen made an admirable showing, polling a total of 87,890 votes to Becker's 53,584 and Nelson's 147,943. But the triumph of the Republicans was complete. They not only elected their entire state ticket, but for the first time in years they sent an undivided Republican delegation to Congress. The Populists failed even to secure the election of John W. Willis, a Democrat whom the third party men had nominated and the Democrats had accepted, to be associate justice of the supreme court. It is clear that the Populists had overestimated their strength, but even so they were not entirely cast down. As one leader expressed it, "This protest of 80,000 of Minnesota's toilers against existing conditions is a most eloquent one, and if no attention is paid to it, as there probably will not be, it will be still more eloquent, because more powerful, in the early future." ⁴²

The poor showing made by the Democrats in 1894 gave some reason for the Populists to hope that their party would soon take its place. Donnelly predicted that the Democrats would never recover from their defeat — that in state and nation they would soon go the way of the Whigs four decades before.⁴³ Had the Democrats continued to face both ways

⁴¹ *Broad Axe*, September 27, 1894; *Representative*, October 10, 1894.

⁴² *Broad Axe*, September 6, 1894; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1894, p. 490-491; *Legislative Manual*, 1895, p. 333, 334, 381; *Farm, Stock and Home*, 11:10 (November 15, 1894).

⁴³ *Representative*, November 7, 1894.

on the money question it is not unlikely that Donnelly's prophecy would have been fulfilled, at least in the West, where the silver movement was strongest. But the Democrats were now well on the way towards the full acceptance of this item of the Populist creed. History was again repeating itself. What the third party men had first taken up and popularized one of the older parties made haste to adopt — in fact, had to adopt or else run the risk of extinction. During the two years which followed the election of 1894 the Bland-Bryan wing of the Democratic party consolidated its ranks and prepared for the coming fray. The "gold-bug" president, Grover Cleveland, was anathematized, and the continuance of hard times was blamed upon his deference to the "money power." Many western Republicans, likewise, had swung over to the free silver doctrine, and the word soon began to pass around that in 1896 all the silverites must get together. "It may be," wrote one Minnesota editor, "that this is the way it has been decreed that humanity shall advance a step." When the Silver Republicans bolted the St. Louis convention in June, 1896, under the leadership of Henry M. Teller of Colorado, the same editor made this proposition: "Suppose the democrats give up their favorite sons Boies and Bland and the people's party forego the pleasure of nominating their great genius and splendid patriot Ignatius Donnelly, and all unite in the nomination of Henry M. Teller for president?" ⁴⁴

That the silver forces would unite for the campaign was hardly open to question. But under what banner? The Populist leaders did not at first realize how powerful the

⁴⁴ *Broad Axe*, June 25, July 2, 1896. Such suggestions did not meet with universal approval. Robert Shilling of Milwaukee, the editor of a radical Wisconsin paper called the *Advance*, wrote to Donnelly on June 22, 1896: "I am raising hell about the Teller address. They wanted me to sign it, but I refused point blank. These fellows run off after strange gods at every opportunity. Wonder if the Gresham blunder at Omaha was not enough? . . . You would be my first choice, but the d—— A.P.A. nonsense would hurt you." Donnelly Papers.

free silver movement had become among the Democrats, and they fully expected their own ticket to be the only frankly silver ticket in the field. They planned that their national convention should take place in August after both the old party nominations had been made. They confidently believed that the Democrats and the Republicans would alike succumb to the pressure of the gold interests, and that the People's party would then have nothing to do but to gather up all the bolting silverites and elect its candidate. To this end they first dispatched their agents to St. Louis to induce the bolting Republicans to join forces with the Populists. It was discovered, however, that Bryan and other leading Silver Democrats were on hand to lead the apostate Republicans into the Democratic fold. A battle royal took place, with the stake the promise of the Tellerites' coöperation, and the Populists seem to have won.⁴⁵ The center of activity now shifted to Chicago, where the Populists gathered in numbers a week before the meeting of the Democratic convention "to see what can be done towards getting the silver democrats to unite with us or in some way co-operate so that we can all vote for one electoral ticket in the next campaign." But this ambitious program met an untimely end when Bryan and the silver forces captured the Chicago convention. What should the Populists, who had been the greatest agitators for a single silver ticket, do now? Should they nominate a

⁴⁵ Henry D. Lloyd, "The Populists at St. Louis," in *Review of Reviews*, 14: 300 (September, 1896); H. E. Taubeneck, chairman of the national executive committee of the Populist party, to Donnelly, June 10, 20, 22, 1896, Donnelly Papers. The letter of June 22 recounts that "The Democrats had a large and influential lobby here, moving Heaven and earth to get the bolting Republicans to join the Democratic party and go to the Chicago Convention. Bryan was here the entire week. Bland also had a strong lobby on the ground. We got in touch with the bolting Republicans before the Convention opened, and agreed upon a policy" which permitted the bolting Republicans to maintain a provisional organization; planned fusion with the Populists locally in the western states on electors, Congressmen, and state and local tickets; and proposed that the Silver Republicans join the Populists in their July convention.

third ticket in August and thus divide the silver forces, or should they give their indorsement to Bryan, who was assuredly a Populist in everything but name? "Our convention never should have been postponed until after those of the old parties, with the object of catching the crumbs that might fall from their tables," scolded one of "Calamity" Weller's correspondents, but the damage was done.⁴⁶

Eventually the Populists took Bryan, though they tried to save their separate identity by nominating a candidate of their own for the vice presidency. Many old-time Populists, especially Southerners, to whom fusion with the Democrats meant complete and abject surrender, were loath to give up the hope of a separate ticket, feeling that the preservation of the party was of even more importance than the carrying of the country for free silver.⁴⁷ They pointed also to the long list of Populist doctrines not included in the Democratic creed, and they questioned the advisability of abandoning these reforms merely to have their way on free silver. These "Middle-of-the-Roaders" seriously discussed the advisability of nominating Donnelly, or some other genuine Populist, at their St. Louis convention, and Donnelly seemed willing. "The People's party . . . needs to live," he said in a speech seconding the nomination of Watson for vice president. "I stood at the cradle of the People's party, and God forbid that I should be here to attend its funeral."⁴⁸ But the movement came to naught and Donnelly himself, doubtless discouraged by the overwhelmingly hostile attitude of the Minnesota delegation and by the assurance from home that nine-tenths of the Minnesota Populists would vote for Bryan

⁴⁶ Taubeneck to Donnelly, July 5, 1896, Donnelly Papers; G. W. Everts to Weller, July 26, 1896, Weller Papers.

⁴⁷ *Representative*, August 26, 1896.

⁴⁸ *St. Louis Republic*, July 23, 1896. It will be recalled that the Populists reversed the usual procedure and nominated the vice presidential candidate first. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, 551 (New York, 1900); William J. Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896*, 271 (Chicago, 1896).

even if a straight Populist ticket should be named, surrendered to the inevitable, even making an effective seconding speech for Bryan.⁴⁹

With national fusion an accomplished fact the movement for fusion on state tickets became irresistible throughout the West. Minnesota leaders expressed whole-hearted approval of "the union of the reform forces of America under a common standard for a common cause," and reformers of every degree were encouraged to lay aside their petty differences for future settlement in order that the united front now achieved might not be broken. A single Democratic-Populist-Silver Republican ticket was agreed upon as the best mode of procedure within the state. There was fortunately substantial agreement upon John Lind of New Ulm as the man best fitted to head this ticket. Lind was a Silver Republican who had attracted the attention of all reformers by the independent and courageous stand he had taken in opposition to the majority of his party on the money question. He was of Swedish birth, but had been a resident of Minnesota since 1868. After achieving success as a lawyer and a local politician, he sat in the fiftieth, fifty-first, and fifty-second Congresses, and was the only Republican representative elected from Minnesota in 1890. In 1892 he declined to be a candidate for reelection on the ground that he was out of harmony with his party on economic questions, and after the St. Louis Republican convention of 1896 he openly proclaimed his adherence to the bolting Teller faction of the party. His honesty and sincerity of purpose seemed not to be open to question. With the first place on the ticket conceded to the Silver Republicans there was nothing for the Democrats and Populists to do but to divide the remaining nominations between themselves. This they accomplished at conventions held in Minneapolis respectively on August 5 and August 26.

⁴⁹ Telegram from W. H. Smallwood and others to Donnelly, July 21, 1896, Donnelly Papers; *Minneapolis Journal*, July 22, 1896; *Representative*, July 29, 1896; Bryan, *The First Battle*, 279.

The platforms of the two parties were in substantial harmony, not only on free silver, but on other matters as well. With true Populist fervor the Democrats denounced the Republican party of the state "for its subservience to corporations, rings and trusts and its total disregard for the producing masses, the middle classes, the common people, farmers, mechanics and laboring men."⁵⁰

But the Fusionists did not win. "Honest John Lind" gave the Republican candidate, Governor Clough, the race of his life, piling up a total of 162,254 votes to his opponent's 165,906. Lind, however, ran far ahead of his ticket, and all the other Fusionists were badly beaten. The electoral vote of the state and the delegation to Congress were again solidly Republican. The legislature was overwhelmingly the same.⁵¹ Naturally such a defeat was deeply disappointing to the reform forces, and they may be pardoned for trying to explain it away. Bitter complaint was made of the success which had attended Republican efforts to frighten silverites into voting against their true sentiments. Owen's paper had this to say: "When employes . . . of railroads and other great corporations and industrial establishments are told, as they were, that if the restoration of silver was demanded their wages would be largely cut, or they would be thrown out of employment entirely by the closing of establishments, it was next to impossible for them to voice their political convictions through their ballots."⁵²

Was fusion as a political device discredited by the campaign of 1896? Many Populists thought it was. The third party was composed of two distinct elements, first, the advocates of a genuine and thoroughgoing social reform who regarded

⁵⁰ *Representative*, July 8, September 2, 1896; *Broad Axe*, August 6, 20, September 3, October 29, 1896; Baker, *Lives of the Governors*, 375-394; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1896, p. 490.

⁵¹ *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1896, p. 490; *Legislative Manual*, 1897, p. 449.

⁵² *Farm, Stock and Home*, 13:2 (November 15, 1896).

the entire Omaha platform as political gospel, and second, "silverites" who had little interest in the other items of the Populist creed. The latter faction still pinned its faith to fusion, but the former now demanded a return to sound Populistic doctrine, and a complete divorce from the Democrats, who had only led them astray. Donnelly, one of the most earnest of the "Middle-of-the-Road" workers, in his last days described the Democratic leaders of Minnesota as "merely a bag-pipe under the armpit of Republicanism to squeak out discordant harmony." Owen took the reverse position, arguing that for a decade the only achievements of material benefit to the people of the state had come from fusion, or at least from coöperation, "between the opponents of the reigning party and prevailing systems in the state." In the two years between 1896 and 1898 Populists tended to line up definitely on one side of this contention or on the other.⁵³

The Fusionists were probably in the majority, and at any rate, thanks to the plan of campaign in 1896 they were in control of the party machinery. They arranged that the Populist state convention of 1898 be held at the time and place chosen by the Democrats and the Silver Republicans. Fusion, bordering closely upon amalgamation, might then be worked out in conference, and a common ticket, again headed by Lind, would be named. On the appointed day the "Middle-of-the-Roaders" were on hand "with blood in their eye," led of course by Donnelly. Their hope was to capture the convention and to nominate an independent ticket. Failing in that, they were determined to bolt the proceedings and in a rump convention have things their own way. There was a battle royal, but the Fusionists were in a clear majority, the vote standing 569 to 396 on a test ballot, and the Fusionist program was carried out to the letter. Next day the "Middle-

⁵³ Frank L. McVey, *The Populist Movement*, 182 (American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3—New York, 1896); *Representative*, July 13, 1899; *Farm, Stock and Home*, 14:242 (July 1, 1898).

of-the-Roaders" had a session by themselves, named a ticket of their own headed by L. C. Long, and adopted a platform in harmony with their views. "We refuse to get into the grave," said Donnelly, "where the Greenback party lies, fused to death."⁵⁴

In the election which followed Lind won the governorship, although the rest of the Fusionist ticket was defeated. Lind's chances of success were considerably bettered when he accepted the post of quartermaster in one of the Spanish-American War regiments from Minnesota and fearlessly left the state to his opponents on the very eve of the campaign. On the other hand, William H. Eustis, the Republican nominee, suffered from the bitter opposition of a faction within his own party headed by none other than Governor Clough himself.⁵⁵ As for the "Middle-of-the-Road" ticket, it cut but a sorry figure. Donnelly's apology for this circumstance, however, is hardly convincing. "In this state," he wrote, "the real strength of our midroad ticket was immensely reduced by our disgusted people going squarely over to the Republican party. They sought revenge on the Democrats, who had invaded our ranks, bought up our leaders, and forced their loathsome nuptials on our unhappy people."⁵⁶ A simpler and more plausible explanation would seem to be that the "Middle-of-the-Roaders" merely lacked the votes. By the year 1898 radical Populism, not only in Minnesota but also throughout the nation, had run its course. The Democrats under Bryan had robbed the Populists of many of their favorite reforms, and even among the Republicans such men as Theodore Roosevelt had already begun to demand with Populistic eloquence the rule of the people rather than the

⁵⁴ *Representative*, June 15, 22, 1898; *Broad Axe*, June 16, 1898; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopædia*, 1898, p. 458.

⁵⁵ *Farm, Stock and Home*, 14:274 (August 1, 1898); *Broad Axe*, July 7, 1898; *Representative*, September 9, 1898; Baker, *Lives of the Governors*, 368, 385.

⁵⁶ *Representative*, November 16, 1898.

rule of the party bosses. A Republican "counter-reformation" was on the way, and but for the Spanish-American War it would have broken out much sooner than it did. Populism, one might almost say, was crushed between the upper millstone of Roosevelt Republicanism and the nether millstone of Bryan Democracy. Furthermore, prosperity had replaced adversity, and the prolonged spell of hard times, which had heretofore proved so valuable an ally to political agitators, incontinently deserted.

There is little need of following the Populist movement further. Lind made a good record as governor, but he became a Democrat, not a Populist, and he was not re-elected. In 1900 the form of fusion was maintained, but the substance was lacking, as far as the Populist faction was concerned. This once formidable and aggressive organization had become "merely a side show of the Democratic party, bound to do the bidding of its conquerors and its bosses, and having no principles, so far as the public can see, which are not taken care of by the stronger organization"⁵⁷ — "fused to death," as Donnelly had feared. A handful of active "Middle-of-the-Roaders" showed much greater per capita vitality, but they lacked numbers sorely. They nominated candidates in 1900 on state and national tickets by referendum ballots rather than by conventions,⁵⁸ and for years thereafter their scattered voices crying in the wilderness prepared the way for the Roosevelt revolt of 1912 and the La Follette movement of 1924.

But in spite of the anticlimactic career of the People's party the fundamental principle for which the original Populists fought survived and grew. They grasped the idea that the extreme individualism of the old frontier was forever a thing of the past, and that the combination of the many

⁵⁷ Quoted from the *Minneapolis Tribune* in the *Representative* of May 3, 1900.

⁵⁸ *Representative*, January 4, May 10, September 13, 1900.

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who were left behind in the mad race for prosperity to control the few who had forged farthest ahead was an absolute necessity if anything like equality of opportunity was to be maintained. Pioneers of an earlier age had barely tolerated government as a necessary evil, but these farmers of the last American frontier could see no other way to check the aggressive tendencies of those who opposed their interests than the interposition of the power of the state. Once they had believed in the slogan, "The less government the better," but now they saw that all ordinary men must join together in demanding an extension of governmental activity. The common people must take control of the government in order to make of it an instrument of the popular will and an adequate check on those who would otherwise make it the tool of special interests. "In brief," as Mr. Turner puts it, "the defenses of the pioneer democrat" had shifted "from free land to legislation, from the ideal of individualism to the ideal of social control through regulation by law."⁵⁹ And that newer ideal despite setbacks both violent and recent still stands.

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⁵⁹ Turner, *Frontier in American History*, 277, 305-307.

NEW LIGHT ON RED RIVER VALLEY HISTORY¹

In my work as curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, I have opportunity to discover much unpublished and practically unknown material on the history of different parts of the state and the region. Handling and reading day by day old letters, account books, diaries, reminiscences, and similar data, I come to know, after weeks and months, the papers which contain items of interest for special localities. From the standpoint of economy it seems useful to draw up brief accounts of this material from time to time so that persons who desire to learn more of their local history may know the manuscript sources on the subject. It is with this end in view that I want to tell you today about some little-known documents from which one can learn much about past events and conditions in the Red River Valley. I shall speak chiefly of unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Some are copies of documents in other places. Many, however, are the original manuscripts.

Though actual settlement began late in this valley, the region has an intensely interesting history extending back into fur-trade days, when it was one of the chief avenues of communication between the fur posts in the north central part of the continent and the rest of the world. As long ago as 1768, eight years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a document was written at Mackinac, instructing a certain James Tute to proceed up the Mississippi, past the Falls of St. Anthony into the Sioux country, and thence to Fort La Prairie in what is now southern Manitoba.

¹ Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Detroit, June 21, 1924.

Such a route would necessitate traveling through a considerable portion of the Red River Valley. Though the journey as originally mapped was never taken, the instructions indicate more or less knowledge of the valley and of the location of fur posts in it and are of interest to us as one of the earliest references to the valley after Canada and the Northwest passed from French to English control.²

The next manuscript, in chronological order, which interests us here is a diary kept by a certain John McDonell, a fur-trader on the Qu' Appelle River, a branch of the Assiniboine. The latter stream joins the Red River at Winnipeg, entering from the west. This diary, kept for part of the year 1793, and that of Archibald Norman McLeod, another fur-trader whose post was on a branch of the Assiniboine, kept for a part of the year 1800-01, make many references to the Red River, the valley, the fur trade, the buffaloes, and the Indians. One finds in these diaries family names that are still heard in Minnesota.³

Manuscripts relating to the valley after the year 1800 are more numerous. In the minutes of the Northwest Company, discovered in Montreal last summer, we can find records of the wages and provisions of the men who wintered on the upper and lower Red River — for the two portions were always distinguished — and the names of the traders for

² Mr. T. C. Elliott has published this document in his "Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon" in the Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly*, 23:65-68 (March, 1922). The Minnesota Historical Society secured its photostatic reproduction from a contemporary copy of the document in the Gerrard Papers of the Baby Collection in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, Montreal. This contemporary copy differs slightly from the copy in the Public Record Office, London, which Mr. Elliott has printed.

³ Photostatic copies of these diaries have been made for the Minnesota Historical Society from the original documents in the Redpath Library of McGill University, Montreal. McDonell's diary is anonymous; the process by which it was identified is described *ante*, p. 306. The last entries of this early diary overlap the opening remarks of McDonell's diary for 1793-95, extracts from which are published more or less accurately in Louis R. Masson's *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 1:283-295 (Quebec, 1889).

1806.* An interesting agreement between the Northwest and Michilimackinac companies, made in December, 1806, and recorded in these minutes divides the fur trade of the region between the two rival companies. One clause reads:

That the said North West Compy shall establish no Posts on the Grand Red River higher up than the Entrance of the Chayenne River into the said Red River and shall not Trade with the Sioux Nation. That the said North West Company shall not establish any Posts beyond the height of land dividing the waters of the *quéué de loutre* [Otter Tail River]. . . . That the said Michilimackinac Company shall not establish any Posts higher up the Mississippi than the Entrance of the River *Aile de Corbeau* [Crow Wing] and that River or the direct water Communication from the Mississippi to the *quéué de Loutre* shall be the boundary between the said Companies to the Height of Land at *quéué de Loutre*. That the said Michilimackinac Company shall not establish any Posts for Trade on the Red River nor navigate that River, unless for the purpose of gaining the River Commonly called the Riviere des Sioux [Big Sioux River].

Thus, it can be seen, the valley was considered a rich source for furs, and each company was to have control of a certain portion of it.

For the period from 1806 to 1823 we find few manuscripts relating to the region. Doubtless there are many letters, diaries, and other papers in existence written in these years, for the Selkirk settlers arrived during this period and settled where Winnipeg and its environs now are; and many must have been the letters sent back to anxious friends and relatives in England and Scotland and many the diaries kept. Sometime before it is too late, it is to be hoped that much of this material will be located and used for historical purposes. At present, however, we must pass over these years to 1823,

* The minutes of the Northwest Company for the period from June 30, 1801, to February 28, 1811, were discovered among the Gerrard Papers of the Baby Collection in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice by Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College while he was searching for manuscripts of Minnesota interest. A photostatic copy has been secured by the Minnesota Historical Society. See *ante*, p. 306.

when Major Stephen H. Long was sent to establish the exact location of the forty-ninth degree as the boundary between the United States and British North America. From Keating's published accounts we know a very great deal about the expedition that passed down the entire length of the Red River Valley from Lake Traverse to Lake Winnipeg one hundred years ago last summer. How many people, however, know that the original diaries kept by the leader of the party are now in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society? Minute descriptions of rivers, lakes, prairies, trees, and other natural characteristics are given; and, most interesting of all, a series of very accurate maps illustrates the record of daily marches.⁵ For the first time the Red River Valley was thoroughly explored and a scientific account of it rendered. It may be interesting to note that Long's investigations showed that Pembina was within the territory of the United States. It was, in fact, the first settlement in the American portion of the valley.

From 1823 we will pass to 1836 and 1837, when Martin McLeod kept an interesting diary on an expedition through northern Minnesota, down the Red River to the Selkirk colony, then up that river to Lake Traverse, and down the Minnesota to Fort Snelling. I will not deal fully with this record of adventure and romance, because it is to appear in a short time in the *MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN*, the quarterly publication of the Minnesota Historical Society. After Long's diaries, it is the next extensive account of the valley which we have, and it is very valuable for its descriptions of the country and the Indians.⁶

⁵ The two-volume work by William H. Keating, geologist and historiographer of Long's expedition, entitled *Narrative of an Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River* (Philadelphia, 1824), embodies some of the material in Long's manuscript diaries; but the most valuable portions from many points of view, the maps, have not been reproduced.

⁶ Since the reading of this paper McLeod's diary has been printed in the belated August-November, 1922, number of the *BULLETIN* (see *ante*, 4: 351-439).

I will mention here manuscript records of censuses taken at the Red River settlement in the years 1838, 1840, 1843, and 1846-47. These documents are kept at the Provincial Library in Winnipeg, but photostatic copies have been ordered for the Minnesota Historical Society because of its interest in the Red River settlers, many of whom became United States citizens just across the border in North Dakota and Minnesota. These records give such facts about each settler as his name and age; the number of cows, pigs, sheep, plows, horses, canoes, carts, and boats which he owned; and the amount of land which he cultivated.⁷

Similar records for the American portion of the valley are to be found in the census records for the Territory of Wisconsin in 1840, which included portions of what is now Minnesota; in the schedules of the census for Minnesota Territory taken in 1850; in the national census records of the state for 1860 and 1870; and in the state census records for 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, and 1905. These records, which are preserved in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society, are invaluable for the early history of the Red River Valley. It is interesting to note in the population schedules of 1840 and 1850 how large a percentage of the settlers of Minnesota were born in the Selkirk colony.⁸

During the forties the valley became a commercial highway of no little importance. The Red River settlement was growing and its inhabitants wanted to market their furs and agricultural surplus more advantageously than had been

⁷ Photostatic copies of these census schedules have been obtained since this statement was written.

⁸ A photostatic copy of the population schedule of the census for 1840 of Crawford County, Wisconsin, now largely within the state of Minnesota, has been made from the original schedule in the federal census bureau. The schedules of the census of 1857, taken for the purpose of determining whether Minnesota Territory had a sufficient number of inhabitants to become a state, have been located in the federal census bureau since this paper was read. Plans are afoot to secure copies of these schedules and so to complete the set of early census records for Minnesota.

possible when England, by way of a ship from Hudson Bay, was more accessible than any American market. After settlement began at the mouth of the Minnesota River, however, the colonists on the Red River gradually changed their market until annual processions of squeaking Red River carts carrying furs, tallow, and some other articles to St. Paul, and general provisions and household goods on the return trip, became a common sight along the so-called "Red River trail."

This trail constitutes such an important item in Red River Valley history that many persons are beginning to ask the questions: when was it first established and through which villages and towns of today did it pass? Although there is manuscript material relating to the establishment of the "woods" and "plains" trails, we shall pass over this phase of the matter and deal with their courses. The "plains" trail left the Mississippi at St. Cloud, struck the Red River at Breckenridge, and passed down the west bank of the river. The "woods" trail passed through Crow Wing, up the Crow Wing and Leaf river valleys, skirted the northeast corner of Otter Tail Lake, passed Detroit Lake, and followed the right bank of the Red River to Pembina. For the latter trail we have accurate manuscript charts made by two United States engineers, E. A. Holmes and George H. Belden, in the years 1855 and 1857, when the traffic on the trails was very heavy. These give woods, streams, marshes, lakes and other natural features in such minuteness that one can readily map the trail in a given locality, for instance, in the vicinity of Detroit. One of the most prominent traders on the "plains" trail was Norman W. Kittson, many of whose letters deal with the fur trade at his post, Pembina, and with trips up and down the valley.*

* These charts are a part of the Alfred J. Hill Collection, a valuable group of maps, diagrams, and papers relating to Minnesota geography and exploration. Norman W. Kittson's letters are, in the main, in the Sibley Papers, which include considerable other material on people and events in the Red River Valley after 1834.

Other manuscript sources for data on the Red River Valley are missionaries' letters, diaries, and reminiscences. Thus the Reverend William T. Boutwell, a Congregational missionary at Leech Lake for several years in the thirties, kept a diary in which many allusions are made to events and people in the valley. Many of his letters to Henry H. Sibley and to other missionaries have been preserved, and some of these contain items of interest for our purpose.¹⁰

The most interesting and unique Minnesota missionary data, however, are the reminiscences of the Reverend Sela G. Wright, who was stationed at the mission farm on Red Lake during the forties and fifties. Very little else has ever been written or known about this mission, but Wright's reminiscences are quite full and tell, for example, of a farm which could produce three thousand bushels of corn and two thousand bushels of potatoes, besides other vegetables, in 1848, when all the rest of northern and western Minnesota was a wilderness—an enterprise worthy of more than passing remark by the historian. Among the incidents recounted by Wright is the story of a trip to the Red River settlement in December, 1843, to purchase oxen and cows. He includes a description of the sled used on the return trip. An interesting study should be made sometime of methods of travel in the Red River Valley, for this sled appears to have been quite an unusual contrivance—an oak board turned up at one end after the manner of our toboggans. It resembled a dog sled but was drawn by an ox and was fifteen feet in length.¹¹

¹⁰ Only a copy of Boutwell's diary has been preserved. This is in the handwriting of J. Fletcher Williams, the secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society from 1867 to 1893. Records in Williams' hand seem to indicate that he made the transcript from the original diary, which was lent to the society for copying by Boutwell himself.

¹¹ The manuscript reminiscences which Wright dictated in 1890 are now in the possession of the Oberlin College Library, which in 1920 generously permitted the Minnesota Historical Society to make a copy. See *ante*, 3: 370.

Thus we have reached the fifties, when settlers began to arrive in the valley. And now we come to a manuscript, recently acquired, which deals exclusively with the valley. It was written in 1857 by Increase A. Lapham of Milwaukee, who had just made a trip to the region. A very minute description of the topography, history, and settlement of the valley is given. In a word, Lapham was boasting the region, desiring to see it fill with immigrants. He mentions some of the towns, just building — Lapham, Breckenridge, Cold Spring, Holmes City, Winthrop, Mansfield, Reno, Bellevue, and others. "The settlers in these places," he says, "are nearly all Americans — and of the right stamp for pioneer work. Courage, hope, patience & industry can have their freest & fullest development in this newly sought frontier." He continues his account of a trip into the valley and remarks, "We saw a few deserted wigwams; they told us of a race fast vanishing from existence; while our little white tent, newly pitched, whispered to us of the onward march of that mighty wave of immigration, flowing on towards the setting sun, soon to cultivate this goodly land." ¹²

For the late fifties, the early sixties, and the seventies, one can glean an amazing amount of knowledge of activities, men, and conditions in this valley from the papers of James W. Taylor. His position as American special agent and later as consul at Winnipeg gave him opportunity to exert a large influence in shaping the destiny of the valley. His efforts to annex the British portion of the valley to the Union are well known. Few persons, however, know of his intimacy with some of the great railroad magnates of the day, notably with Jay Cooke, Lord Strathcona, and Lord Mount Stephen. His endeavor was to extend railroad connections into the lower valley. Incidentally in so doing he came into contact with George L. Becker, for whom Becker County is named. Con-

¹² The original manuscript by Lapham is owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, from which a typed copy was obtained in May, 1924. See *ante*, p. 506.

siderable correspondence with Becker and many allusions to him are found in Taylor's correspondence.¹³

In 1869 a traveler, Mr. A. W. Graham, journeying from St. Paul to the settlements on the lower Red River, kept a diary which has recently come to light. I wrote to him and received a reply about six weeks ago relative to the diary, which he modestly deprecates as a youthful effort. It proves very profitable reading, however, for one interested in Red River Valley history. Certain entries I will quote to show the flavor of the diary:

July 8 We arrived at St. Paul in the morning and the same evening found us at St. Cloud. The first thing attracting our attention were Red River carts and half-breed drivers. These carts were made without iron or nails, the tires even being raw-hide called "Shaganapi." They are made with shafts and one ox to a cart, with harness much like horse harness, but more crude, made mostly of rawhide. The axles are never oiled, and in driving each wheel makes a different kind of music, which can be heard on a still day or night for miles. There is one driver for three to five carts. These were the freight carts carrying goods west.

July 16 Travelled 48 miles today. At noon crossed the Ottertail River. Passed two trains of Red River carts. A beautiful country. . . . We are making on an average 42 miles per day.

July 17 Reached Fort Abercrombie The fort is on the Dakota side of the Red River. Some American soldiers have been stationed here since the Sioux massacre in 1862. The river is crossed by a ferry boat. We got our wagon repaired and bought some provisions.¹⁴

¹³ The Taylor Papers constitute one of the largest and most important manuscript collections owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. They cover the years 1852 to 1893 and consist of thirteen filing boxes filled mainly with correspondence, twenty letter books, three scrapbooks, and a few miscellaneous items. Theodore C. Blegen's "James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch," published *ante*, 1: 153-219, contains a description and an evaluation of the Taylor Papers.

¹⁴ This diary has been printed under the title "Diary of A. W. Graham during the Red River Rebellion" in *Reminiscences of Early Settlers and*

As Fort Abercrombie has been mentioned, we will consider another reference to it in the diary of Samuel R. Bond, a member of Captain James L. Fisk's expedition to escort the gold-diggers across the western plains in the summer of 1862, when the Indians were still too numerous and too hostile for emigrant trains to pass unprotected.¹⁵ The party of emigrants and soldiers left St. Paul, followed the "plains" trail to Breckenridge, and crossed the Red River to Fort Abercrombie on the western shore. Here they arrived in time to celebrate the Fourth of July, which Bond describes thus:

Friday July 4 Remained in camp today to participate in a celebration at the Fort of the anniversary of our national Independence, and to allow some teams still on the road to overtake us. A Salute of 13 guns was fired at day break at the Fort. Capt Fisk and his party having horses formed a cavalcade and at nine o'clock A.M. proceeded to the Fort where they were received by officers and men of the Garrison & escorted in procession around the Fort and vicinity. At a place called the "Old Fort" they were unexpectedly joined by the rest of Capt Fisks party, armed with shovels, spades &c indicative of the vocation of Gold-Seekers. Here all were generously entertained with the wholesome teutonic beverage, lager beer.

The garrison, after a salute of musketry, escorted us to our Camp where our men got their guns and fired a salute. All the horsemen then took a gallop across the prairie. At 5 o'clock P.M. about 200 or 250 men and about 20 ladies met in the area of the Fort around the noble flag-staff recently erected, and seated in tents erected and adorned with green boughs prepared by the Garrison, awaited the exercises that had been projected for the occasion.

After telling about the reading of the Declaration of Independence and the delivery of several appropriate speeches, Bond continues as follows:

Other Records, 70-84 (Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, *Publications*, vol. 4—St. Thomas, Ontario, 1911). Mr. Graham resides at St. Thomas.

¹⁵ The original of this diary has been deposited by the author with the Ipswich (Massachusetts) Historical Society, which has permitted the Minnesota Historical Society to make a typed copy. See *ante*, 4: 450.

At night a ball was given by Capt Vander Horck at his Headquarters. Thermometer stood at 101° in shade at 3 o'clock

Saturday, July 5 . . . Another ball was given at Headquarters of Capt Vander Horck tonight.

After we had all gone to our camp and to sleep tonight we were suddenly aroused and startled by the Indian war-whoop, drum-beating and all the other sounds that characterize an Indian war-dance or battle, in close proximity to our Headquarters, and coming nearer and still more near. Upon our sallying from our tent we encountered our hospitable entertainers . . . and about 15 men from the Garrison who had determined to pass [s] our sentinels, if possible, and give us a foretaste of what we might expect during our Camp-life in an Indian country. Our sentinels could not refuse to pass into our camp at any hour of day or night those who had welcomed us to their hospitalities with such cordiality and generosity.

Our assailants presented a mug of lager to each of our throats and after receiving their fire with firmness and unbroken lines we planted a small howitzer of bourbon at our tent-door and returned the fire to the best of our ability. The combat then closed, our assailants retired and left us to sleep on the field.

Bond's journal of over two hundred pages presents a vivid picture of the upper valley in 1862, giving the author's impressions of the towns, the country-side, and the Indians. On the same journey one of Bond's friends also kept a diary.¹⁶ His entry for July 2 reads in part: "reached Breckenridge by a little after noon. B. is made of one Hotel (empty) & a saw mill."

I will close this paper by advising any who are interested in the early days of the valley to read a recent book called *Women of Red River, Being a Book Written from the Recollections of Women Surviving from the Red River Era*, by W. J. Healy of Winnipeg.¹⁷ Although it relates primarily

¹⁶ Dr. William D. Dibb kept diaries of the Fisk expeditions of 1862, 1863, and 1864, photostatic copies of which have been made by the Minnesota Historical Society from the original in the possession of Mrs. Jeremiah E. Fitzgerald of St. Paul, a daughter of the author. See *ante*, p. 225.

¹⁷ This little volume was published in Winnipeg by the Women's Canadian Club in 1923. It is reviewed *ante*, p. 493-495.

to Manitoba, there are constant references to trips through northwestern Minnesota to St. Paul. One woman making a journey to Illinois via St. Paul in 1848 "saw the newly-built log cabin of Pierre Bottineau, which was then the only building on the site of Minneapolis."¹⁸ What a retrospect for this woman of ninety-two! Think of watching this beautiful valley develop from the days of Indians, Red River carts, and no white men's habitations south of Pembina to the present with its scenes of prosperous farms and thriving towns! It savors almost of the miraculous to have witnessed such changes within the limits of one life time.

Such are some of the available sources of Red River history, nearly all in manuscript form. You who are proud of this unique history will do well to preserve its sources—by presenting to your local or state historical society any diaries, letters, account books, or other manuscripts which relate in any way to the region. It is from such documents that authoritative history is made. Few regions in America have a more interesting or picturesque history and few offer more possibilities for the discovery of manuscripts that will open up wholly new chapters of that history. It is for you of the valley to locate these papers and preserve them.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

¹⁸ Healy, *Women of Red River*, 29. Bottineau's house was in St. Anthony, which did not become a part of Minneapolis until 1872. Daniel S. B. Johnston, in a manuscript entitled "The Beginnings of St. Anthony, Minneapolis, and the University of Minnesota," calls Bottineau's house the second in St. Anthony.

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION AT DETROIT

Three state historical conventions under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society have now been held — the first at Duluth in 1922, the second at Redwood Falls in 1923, and the third at Detroit in 1924. Thus the northeastern, southwestern, and northwestern sections of the state have each had a state-wide convention at which Minnesota history and the problems connected with local history organization have been considered and the background of the general region of the meeting has been exploited.

A year ago the "historical tourists" followed the trail of Major Stephen H. Long and drove up the valley of the Minnesota River, the region of the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. This year the western trail of the lumbering Red River carts was followed and the tourists made their way to the most renowned wheat-growing area in the West — the Red River Valley. The convention was held on Friday and Saturday, June 20 and 21, at Detroit, — the heart of Minnesota's picturesque western "lake country," — upon the invitation of the mayor, the Becker County Historical Society, and members and friends of the state historical society in that city. The annual convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities was held in Detroit on June 19, 20, and 21, and the two organizations coöperated in the making of arrangements.

Preparations for the historical convention were made by two committees. A general committee of the society with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, first vice president of the society as chairman, and Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, the assistant superintendent, as secretary, was appointed to plan for the convention. The other members of this committee

were: Dr. William Anderson, Mrs. Marshall H. Coolidge, Edward C. Gale, Herschel V. Jones, Cecil W. Shirk, and Andrew A. Stomberg of Minneapolis; Mrs. Charles E. Furness, James M. McConnell, and Dr. Clarence W. Rife of St. Paul; Conrad G. Selvig and Halvor Steenerson of Crookston; Dr. Leonard C. Weeks and John K. West of Detroit; Ray B. MacLean and Herman C. Nordlie of Moorhead; Elmer E. Adams of Fergus Falls; Horace B. Ayres of Kimberly; William Bottineau of Plummer; Roe Chase of Anoka; Dr. Edwin B. Dean of Northfield; Otis B. De Laurier of Long Prairie; Mrs. Julia B. Friday of Hawley; Mrs. Frank A. Hancock of Morris; Constant Larson of Alexandria; William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud; Asher Murray of Wadena; Richard D. Musser of Little Falls; Oscar A. Naplin of Thief River Falls; Dr. Charles L. Scofield of Benson; Halvor Shirley of Breckenridge; and Charles W. Stanton of Bemidji.

The local arrangements at Detroit were made by a committee of which Mr. John K. West was chairman, and Dr. Leonard C. Weeks, secretary; the other members being Alexander Cherry, Mrs. Lillie E. Dix, Henry N. Jenson, Mrs. C. W. Mee, Gustav J. Norby, Mrs. Mina Peoples, and Leonard U. Towle of Detroit; Marx Jess, Mrs. W. F. Just, Mrs. E. W. F. Sharp, and Arthur D. White of Frazee; L. C. McKinstry and Peter Sathre of Audubon; John Beggin and Henry O. Bjorge of Lake Park; and Mrs. George McKinley and Arthur W. Sanderson of Osage.

The convention was preceded by an automobile tour on June 19 from the Twin Cities. The cars assembled at 8:30 A.M. in Anoka, where the party was greeted by Mr. Roe Chase, the editor of the *Anoka Herald*. The first stop was made at the Minnesota State Reformatory at St. Cloud where the tourists were served refreshments through the courtesy of the superintendent of the institution, Mr. Charles E. Vasaly. When the party stopped at Little Falls it included approximately twenty-five persons in five cars. A complimentary

luncheon was given at Little Falls, in the dining hall of the Elks' Home, by Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Musser. An official welcome was extended by the mayor, Mr. Nels Bergheim, who directed attention to an interesting local problem in historical marking. The site of the fort built by Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike on his famous trip of exploration in 1805-06 four miles below the present city of Little Falls was marked in 1919 with a monument and a bronze tablet. Mr. Bergheim announced that this marker, unless it is moved, will be submerged by the river as a result of a new water power project. After a brief talk by Mr. L. B. Tanner, president of the Little Falls Board of Commerce, and a response on behalf of the visitors by Dr. Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, the entire party motored to the site of the Pike fort, on the west side of the river. The general opinion seemed to be that the wisest plan would be to remove the monument to the opposite side of the river, near the main highway, where thousands of passing tourists would be able to see it.¹ After this excursion the journey was resumed to Detroit, where most of the members of the party arrived in the evening.

One of the most interesting features of the convention was a series of historical exhibits planned and assembled by the local committee and placed in store windows along the main street of the city. These exhibits illustrated many sides of the historical development of Becker County and western Minnesota generally. The bringing together of the objects was a practical demonstration of the local museum possibilities in Minnesota counties. The work enlisted the interest and participation of hundreds of Becker County people and thus had a very distinct local value quite apart from the unusual interest which the displays awakened among the people who

¹ It is announced in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for September 9 that the Pike monument has now been moved back on higher ground, six hundred feet northwest of its former site.

thronged Detroit during the convention week. The Minnesota Historical Society sent its traveling exhibit to Detroit where it was displayed in the First Congregational Church, which served as the convention headquarters. At the convention 102 persons were registered, 26 of whom were Detroit residents and 77 outsiders. There were 29 members of the society present, only 2 of whom were from Detroit. At some of the sessions there was a considerable attendance of delegates to the convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, few of whom were represented in the society's registration.

The program was one of unusual variety and interest. In responding to a speech of welcome by Mr. John K. West at the opening session, Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll pointed out that "accurate knowledge of the history of a people is the foundation upon which society must build its future progress," and he defined the purposes of the society's summer meetings in these words: "to stimulate local history activity and to emphasize the importance of a broad and comprehensive knowledge of the history of Minnesota and the Northwest." The general program of the convention undoubtedly did tend to carry out these purposes. There were five sessions, and the program included fifteen papers and addresses, not counting a number of talks given at an informal local history conference on the second day. Of these papers and addresses, seven were given by western Minnesota people, two by professors of American history in neighboring state universities, four by staff members or officers of the society, and two by former students in the history department of the University of Minnesota.

Naturally much emphasis was put upon the history of the Red River Valley and of western Minnesota generally. Indeed, no less than seven papers dealt in full or in part with subjects falling within this field. Taken together they constituted an interesting and well-rounded symposium on western Minnesota history. That the story of the Red River Valley

possesses dramatic possibilities was brought out in a paper entitled "Reconstructing the Past of the Red River Valley," by Conrad G. Selvig, superintendent of the Northwest School and Station of the University of Minnesota.² He told about the Red River "Pageant of Prosperity" which was given in November, 1923, in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Red River Valley Dairymen's Association at Crookston. The text of the pageant, which was written by Mr. Selvig, presents a dramatic tableau review of the development of the valley along various lines.

A paper on "The Cadotte Family and the Fur Trade of the Northwest, 1760-1810," by Miss Honora McLachlan of Glenwood, possessed both a general Minnesota and a special Red River Valley interest. She gave particular attention to the careers of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a French-Canadian, and of his eldest son, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a half-breed, both prominent fur-traders in the Lake Superior region during the British régime. Miss McLachlan read her paper unaware of the fact that among her auditors sat a great-great-granddaughter of the first Jean Cadotte. The elder Cadotte was in charge of the fort at the Sault de Ste. Marie upon the outbreak of the French and Indian War and there he was visited by Alexander Henry on May 19, 1762. He was the only French trader of importance to remain there after the war. The influence of Cadotte upon the Indians at the Sault, which was very great, according to Miss McLachlan, is best shown by the fact that he prevented them from joining the conspiracy of Pontiac. When the fur trade was resumed in 1765 Cadotte and Alexander Henry formed a partnership licensed for the exclusive fur trade on Lake Superior. They soon pushed their operations into the interior, however, and in 1775, in company with Peter Pond and

² Mr. Selvig was unable to be present at the session and his paper was read by a member of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. His paper is printed in the *Detroit Record* for June 27, 1924.

other traders, they reached Cumberland House in Saskatchewan. Cadotte with four canoes made his way to Fort des Prairies. In addition to carrying on independent fur-trading operations, Cadotte on numerous occasions gave service to the government. In 1785 he participated in the organization "known as the General Company of Lake Superior and the South for the purpose of regulating the trade of Mackinac and its dependencies." Eleven years later, broken in health, he transferred his business interests to his sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel.

Miss McLachlan told of the expedition organized in the summer of 1792 by Jean Baptiste Cadotte, the younger, to the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi with a party of trappers and traders numbering approximately sixty men and including his brother Michel. He left the Sault late in the summer of 1792 and went into the Minnesota interior by way of the St. Louis River and Sandy Lake. Thence the party probably went down the Mississippi to the Crow Wing River and from there to the mouth of the Leaf River, where it wintered. The next spring the party ascended the Leaf River and made its way to the Red River and to Prairie Portage. It returned to Grand Portage late in the summer of 1793. The speaker gave several illustrations of the deftness with which Cadotte dealt with hostile Indians. She attributed much importance to the expedition in connection with the opening of the upper Mississippi country to the fur trade. Cadotte himself, she said, entered the service of the Northwest Company, which soon established posts at Fond du Lac, Sandy Lake, Leech Lake, and other points in the Fond du Lac department. The speaker briefly reviewed the later career of Cadotte. He probably wintered in 1794-95 at Red Cedar or Cass Lake and in 1796-97 at Red Lake. In 1797 he took over the management of the Fond du Lac department on shares. In 1798 he was at Red Lake River, on the site of the present city of Red Lake Falls, where he

was visited by David Thompson. In 1801, upon the organization of the Northwest Company, Cadotte was one of six persons admitted as partners. Two years later he was expelled because of drunkenness. The remaining period of his life was passed in obscurity. He died in 1818. "Both father and son were men of ability, energy, and courage," said Miss McLachlan in conclusion. "The loyalty of both to the British was unquestioned. Their knowledge of the Indians and the Indian language, their sympathetic understanding of Indian character, together with the complete confidence of the Indians themselves, rendered their services invaluable in the rapid extension of the fur trade when British influence was paramount in the Northwest."

A contribution to the history of Norwegian settlement in western Minnesota was made in an interesting paper entitled "Paul Hjelm-Hansen and Western Minnesota Settlement," by Sigurd Melby of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis. Hjelm-Hansen was a Norwegian-American newspaper man who was appointed by the governor of Minnesota in the summer of 1869 to act as an agent of the state board of immigration. In a wagon drawn by oxen, Hjelm-Hansen left Alexandria on July 12, 1869, and drove as far west as Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown, everywhere making inquiries of settlers and carefully observing conditions. In a series of well-written letters, published in newspapers both in Norway and in this country, he advertised the resources of the Red River Valley and urged Norwegian immigrants and settlers to go to that fertile region. Mr. Melby read many selections from the Hjelm-Hansen letters and indicated that they constitute a mine of detailed, first-hand information, of value for Minnesota social history. The letters were apparently one not unimportant factor in impelling thousands of Norwegians to seek land in the frontier counties of the state.

In a suggestive paper by Dr. Orin G. Libby, professor of American history in the University of North Dakota, an

attempt was made to assess "The Significance of the Red River Valley in American History." He first called attention to the setting of the history of the valley. It is a portion of the drainage basin of Hudson Bay, lying partly in Canada and partly in the United States. It was the battle ground of Dakota and Chippewa for more than a century. Finally the latter expelled their enemies and held the northern part of the valley as far west as the Turtle Mountains. "Because of the friendship of the Chippewas for the French," said Dr. Libby, "the Dakotas never tolerated the presence of the latter west of the Mississippi River." La Vérendrye used the Red River Valley as an important link in his line of trading posts from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. In the conflict of the fur-traders and the Northwest Company against the Hudson's Bay Company in the period from 1763 to 1821, "both contestants had field headquarters in the Red River Valley and carried on the fur trade war with the utmost bitterness." At one time, according to the speaker, three competing companies had posts at Pembina within a short distance of each other. He then spoke of the establishment of Lord Selkirk's colony at the present site of the city of Winnipeg and of the bitter hostility between the settlers and the Northwest Company. When the companies united in 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company was placed in absolute command of the territory and governed despotically. This led to the gradual dispersal of many of the settlers southward into that part of the Red River Valley belonging to the United States. Trade routes to the southward were established and the people under the Hudson's Bay Company began a fight for political and commercial freedom. "The gradual extension of American settlements northward into the Red River Valley had a considerable influence in hastening the granting of full citizenship rights to the Canadians in this valley," Dr. Libby said. The speaker suggested in conclusion that "the fact that the United States and Canada have had a common

interest in the exploration and settlement of the Red River Valley suggests that there are many subjects of historic interest which they must study jointly in order to secure permanent results."

The viewpoint of the pioneer must not be neglected in studying the past of the Red River Valley. A participant's testimony was embodied in a paper by Mrs. George McKinley of Osage, entitled "Aspects of Early Settlement in Becker County."⁸ Mrs. McKinley told the story of her father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Way, and claimed for her parents the honor of being Becker County's "first white settlers." A Hoosier by birth, Henry Way was a man with the pioneer's instinct. He joined the Pike's Peak gold rush and took the battle cry of that movement so seriously that he climbed to the top of Pike's Peak. In 1865 he came to Minnesota from Iowa in a caravan of "covered wagons." The party went as far west as Battle Lake, and three years later Way staked a claim on Oak Lake in Becker County. Mrs. McKinley gave the exact date of this event—June 28, 1868. She then told of the settlement of her father in Becker County and of many pioneer hardships borne by her mother. Mrs. McKinley, in her paper, seemed to catch the spirit of pioneer life in a way that is impossible to those who are not themselves a part of that past, who cannot say, as did Aeneas, "*et quorum pars magna fui.*"

A much appreciated feature of the program was an exhibition of colored slides, entitled "Becker County History in Pictures," which was presented by Dr. Leonard C. Weeks, president of the Becker County Historical Society, as the last number on the program of the Friday evening session. Pictures of early settlers, pioneer teachers, and Indians, and views of Detroit and other places in Becker County at differ-

⁸ In the absence of Mrs. McKinley this paper was read at the Friday afternoon session by Dr. Weeks. Under the title of "Mr. and Mrs. Henry Way," the paper is printed in the *Detroit Record* for July 14, 1924.

ent periods were included. The pictures shown are part of a much larger collection of slides made by Dr. Weeks.

History is not a static thing. Valuable studies in the field of Red River Valley history have already been written and published, but it was made abundantly clear by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, in an informing paper entitled "New Light on Red River Valley History," that many important manuscript sources for this subject are in existence which have not yet been used by historians. They will doubtless make possible further important contributions to that history, which will throw a flood of "new light" upon it. Dr. Nute's paper is printed in the present number of the *BULLETIN*.

Two papers on the program related to the teaching of state history in the schools of Minnesota. "The Significance of the Local Approach in Education" was discussed by Mr. Ray B. MacLean, president of the State Teachers College at Moorhead. The local approach, he said, is (1) interesting, (2) practical, and (3) typical of the world in which men live. It is interesting because it is "immediate, concrete, and personal" and possesses elements which "appeal to the thought and imagination." It is practical because it involves an appreciation of the neighborhood life — a vital thing; and it is typical of the world because "the history of the local community is a cross section of the struggle which has gone on for ages in larger units." Mr. MacLean's address furnished a philosophical background for a paper by Mr. Arthur D. White of Frazee on "Minnesota History in the High School Curriculum," in which an earnest plea was made for the teaching of state history to Minnesota high school students. Mr. White's paper is printed in the last number of the *BULLETIN* (*see ante*, p. 477-484).

Much has been written about statesmen, soldiers, and missionaries in the history of Minnesota, but few have described the services of engineers to the state. A paper on

"A Minnesota Pioneer, William Crooks," told the story of a prominent engineer in the words of his daughter, Mrs. W. F. Just of Frazee. Crooks was a son of Ramsay Crooks, the famous American Fur Company official. He went to West Point in 1850 but did not complete his course. He resigned to accept a position as an assistant to John B. Jervis, a celebrated engineer of the New York Central Railway. After considerable experience he became, in 1857, assistant engineer for the Minnesota and Pacific Railroad Company; and from 1859 to 1862 he was chief engineer of that road. In 1861 he purchased in New Jersey the first railway locomotive to be used in Minnesota, the "William Crooks." From 1862 to 1865 he served as colonel of the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry. He resumed his railroad work when he came out of the army. Mrs. Just sketched his later career and stated that he was chief engineer of the St. Paul and Pacific from 1865 to 1869, that he engaged in railway contract work from 1869 to 1890, and that he was president and chief engineer of the Wadena and Park Rapids Railway from 1890 to 1892 and chief engineer of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway from 1892 to 1897. From then until his death in 1907 he lived in Oregon. Among the roads the building of which he supervised, according to Mrs. Just, were the Great Northern branches to Breckenridge and St. Cloud, the line to Crookston,—the city was named in his honor,—and lines to Wadena and Grand Rapids. Colonel Crooks was more than an engineer and a soldier; he found time to serve in many official capacities, for example, as state senator and representative, and on numerous important public commissions. Mrs. Just described the career and character of an efficient engineer of the Northwest, who occupies an important place in the history of Minnesota transportation.*

Dr. John D. Hicks, professor of American history in the University of Nebraska, read his illuminating paper on "The

* Mrs. Just's paper is published in the *Detroit Record* for July 4, 1924.

People's Party in Minnesota" at the Friday evening session, held in the Detroit Lake Pavilion. No evening session was scheduled by the League of Minnesota Municipalities and consequently there was a large attendance of league delegates at this meeting. Much interest was shown in Dr. Hicks's skillful analysis of the Populist movement. His paper is published in the present number of the BULLETIN. "The True Story of the Strange Career of 'Lord Gordon-Gordon' in the Northwest" is the title of a paper by Dr. William W. Folwell, president emeritus of the University of Minnesota and president of the Minnesota Historical Society, which was read by Dr. Solon J. Buck at the same session. The story, which relates to a master swindler who posed as "Lord Gordon-Gordon" and excited Minnesota in the early seventies, was written by Dr. Folwell as an incidental study in connection with the preparation of volume 3 of his *History of Minnesota*.⁵

The main outlines of the "Lord Gordon-Gordon" adventure, as related by Dr. Folwell, are as follows: In 1871 a titled Englishman appeared in Minnesota and announced his intention of buying Minnesota lands for settlement by his poor Scotch tenants. He was taken on an elaborate tour by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to the region about Detroit and Fergus Falls, where he bargained for a large tract. In December he went to New York where he represented himself as a stockholder controlling a large part of the stock of the Erie Railroad Company. He managed to swindle Jay Gould out of more than two hundred thousand dollars in cash and a large quantity of stocks. Gould recovered the cash and some of the stocks and sued Gordon for the rest, but the latter "jumped bail" and fled to Canada. In the

⁵ Illustrated feature stories based upon Dr. Folwell's paper are printed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 31, 1924, and in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 10. It is expected that the paper will be published in full in the appendix of volume 3 of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*.

spring of 1871 his bondsman located him near Winnipeg and persuaded the mayor of Minneapolis, George W. Brackett, to come to his assistance. Brackett sent Michael Hoy, his chief of police, and a man named Owen Keegan to Winnipeg where, with the help of Loren Fletcher, they succeeded in kidnaping Gordon. Just before they reached the border they were arrested by provincial authorities and were escorted back to Winnipeg. After two and a half months in jail, the kidnapers were tried, pleaded guilty, and were given light sentences. When they finally came home they were greeted as returning heroes. "Lord Gordon-Gordon" was a bogus noble whose estate in Scotland was a fiction. In 1874 he was arrested again, this time on a Toronto warrant, and rather than stand trial, he committed suicide.

On Friday at 12:30 P.M. at the Detroit Lake Pavilion a joint luncheon of the society and the League of Minnesota Municipalities was served by the ladies' aid societies of the Protestant Episcopal, the First Baptist, the Detroit Lutheran, and the First Congregational churches. Following this luncheon Dr. Solon J. Buck spoke on "Community Memory," and Professor John M. Gaus of the University of Minnesota on "Community Planning."

The correlation of the two ideas was strikingly brought out in the two speeches. Professor Gaus presented the main general features of scientific city planning as it is conceived today. Dr. Buck pointed out that history serves the community in the same way as memory does the individual, that the characteristics of the community are determined wholly by its past, and that only through a knowledge of that past is it possible to understand the present and plan wisely for the future. He called attention also to the added richness of life which comes to the individual from a knowledge of the history of his environment and the added charm of the community which is interested in its past and preserves the records and other survivals of that past. It was pointed out, more-

over, that attention to local history has a very real and direct commercial value, in attracting tourists for example, and that this value is successfully capitalized in Europe and in the East. In the West, however, there has been comparatively little interest in local history until very recently; few works of a scholarly sort have been written in the field, and the subject has not been taught in the schools. What is needed is a sustained and concentrated effort to preserve the records of the past—local archives, records of organizations and of industrial establishments, personal papers, files of newspapers, and museum objects. Historic sites should be marked, local history should be introduced in the schools, and in general the idea should be cultivated that the history of a community is a vital matter which merits the concern of all its citizens. The best way to accomplish these things, the speaker said, is through the organization of local historical societies made up not primarily of antiquarians and old settlers but rather of vigorous and active men and women who appreciate the civic, cultural, and practical values of the cultivation of community memory.

Dr. Buck's address struck the keynote for the local history conference which was held on the following day. The discussion at this conference was opened by Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, who called attention to the fact that the various Minnesota communities, although similar in many ways, have individualities of their own—personalities, as it were. It is important, he said, for citizens to know about the background which explains these original, as well as the ordinary, features of the community life. To get as much as possible out of the common heritage it is necessary to organize. Fortunately, in Minnesota and the Middle West generally, the lesson of local history organization is being learned. Encouraging signs of the new interest in local history are the recent organization of three county historical societies in Minnesota, the well-directed activity of the St. Louis County Historical Society,

and the passage by the state legislature of a law authorizing the commissioners of one Minnesota county to make an appropriation for a county historical society. The speaker suggested the possibility of an amendment to this law which would authorize counties generally to support organized local history activity. Attention was then called to the proposed constitution for a county historical society published not long ago in the *MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN* and to the definition of aims embodied in its first clause (see *ante*, 4:252-256). Three questions were then raised: What has the Becker County Historical Society accomplished? What are the prospects for further local history organization in western Minnesota? What is the situation in North Dakota?

Mr. John K. West spoke briefly of the work being done by the Becker County Historical Society, commenting especially upon the value of energetic and enthusiastic leadership for the successful carrying on of such an enterprise. Dr. L. C. Weeks, who is the president of the Becker County society, gave numerous illustrations of the collecting activity of the organization. More than eight hundred pictures and relics had been collected for the window exhibits, he said. The local society has a valuable collection of Becker County newspapers, most of which are bound and carefully preserved. He gave several illustrations of the historical value of these local files. The materials assembled by the society, he said, are placed in a basement room of the Detroit Public Library, but there is a possibility that a room may be secured eventually in the county courthouse.

It is evident that there is effective organization of activity along local history lines in Becker County and that the movement is gathering momentum. The situation in Clay County is none too good, according to Mrs. Julia B. Friday of Hawley, who spoke next. She indicated that there are not a few places of historic interest in the county and that the essential thing is to interest people in the history of the region.

Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, called special attention to the window displays on the Detroit main street and said that they would form an excellent nucleus for a county museum. Such collections of material could and should be made in every county. The educational value of such exhibits for the public school children was suggested as one argument for the establishment of a museum.

Mr. Dana C. Wright of Jamestown, North Dakota, said that two or three counties in that state have organized their local history work. In Jamestown, for example, he said, there is a local society which is active and has a room in which its materials are on display. The historical objects gathered by this society are advertised by placing a few of them in store windows. Dr. Libby indicated that there is a growing interest in North Dakota in the marking of historic sites. An attempt has been made to organize county war history commissions in every county of the state, he said, and in some cases these organizations have assembled World War objects which are displayed in special war history rooms. North Dakota is still in the pioneering stage and this means that historical workers have the advantage of being near the source. The speaker gave an instance of the destruction through ignorance of a valuable file of county newspapers. A certain amount of such destruction seems to be inevitable,—in the older as well as in the younger states,—but a powerful aid in the preservation of records will be the organization of active and well-directed county historical societies.

The convention was so crowded with sessions that little time was left for social affairs. The amenities of life were not forgotten, however. On Friday afternoon at 4:30 P.M., through the courtesy of the people of Detroit, an informal automobile trip was made around some of the lakes in the vicinity of the city. At 6:30 P.M., on the same day, an informal joint dinner with the League of Minnesota Munici-

palities was served at the lake pavilion by the Ladies' Aid Society of the Holy Rosary Church. A trip to the White Earth Indian Reservation, scheduled for Saturday afternoon, was unavoidably canceled. After the convention some of the visitors returned to the Twin Cities by way of Itasca State Park and others took advantage of the opportunities for trips to other parts of western Minnesota.

The following resolution, which was proposed by a committee consisting of Mrs. Elizabeth H. Buck, chairman, Dr. John D. Hicks, and Dr. William E. Leonard, was unanimously adopted by the convention at its last session, on Saturday morning, June 21:

RESOLVED, That we, the members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society assembled at its third annual convention in Detroit, Minnesota, do hereby express our thanks and appreciation to the following persons:

To the committee on general arrangements of the historical society who brought us to this delightful city and arranged an interesting and stimulating program for our entertainment,

To the officers of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, who have coöperated with our society in joint sessions,

To the persons who have prepared and read the papers and speeches to which we have been privileged to listen,

To the committee on local arrangements and especially to Dr. L. C. Weeks, who have extended to us the hospitality of the city of Detroit and have made arrangements for our lodging in the face of the crowded conditions caused by the presence of another convention in the city at this time,

To the members of the First Congregational Church for their courtesy in permitting our convention to hold so many of its sessions in the church,

To the ladies' aid societies of the Protestant Episcopal, the First Baptist, the Detroit Lutheran, the First Congregational, and the Holy Rosary churches who served the joint luncheon and dinner on the first day of the convention, and

To the merchants and citizens of Detroit, who have coöperated in assembling for our entertainment the notable window displays of historic objects and who have extended to us many other courtesies during our visit in their city.

The valley of the Red River of the North — the Nile of the Northwest — has an important and fascinating history and the people of western Minnesota are beginning to show their interest in that history by conserving its records in organized fashion. Interest in state history generally is waxing in Minnesota. Those who attended the Detroit convention came away with the impression that there is something vital in historical work in the state today. Carefully prepared papers on subjects of enduring importance, earnest discussions, intelligent interest — all indicate that the new conception of history is gaining ground. Here was no fruitless antiquarianism; here, rather, was a serious attempt to arrive at an understanding of some of the forces which lie back of and explain present conditions — here was history definitely tied to present-day life.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Constitutions of the Northwest States (University of Nebraska, *University Studies*, vol. 23, nos. 1-2). By JOHN D. HICKS. (Lincoln, 1923. 162 p.)

The process of creating new states out of the national domain in the West and the South began with the admission of Kentucky in 1792 and ended in 1912 with the elevation to statehood of New Mexico and Arizona. All told, thirty-two states, or two-thirds of the entire number, were created from the national territories. The other sixteen states include the original thirteen plus Vermont, Maine, and West Virginia.

If a motion picture could be taken of the map of the United States showing the rise of new states year by year from the beginning there would be noticeable a distinct unevenness in the movement. At one time ten to fifteen years would pass by without the admission of a single state. At another time a whole group of states would come trooping in almost simultaneously. The most striking example of wholesale admissions that we have is that of the six states discussed in the monograph under review. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming, occupying the northwestern section of the United States, all became states in a period of less than ten months in 1889 and 1890.

The monograph opens with a chapter on the movement for statehood in the several territories considered and closes with a short account of the admission of the six states to the Union. The elements in the statehood movement were fundamentally the same in all — the building of railroads, the influx of population, the desire of the people to govern themselves and to have access to the school lands for school support, the desire of the politicians to be elected to state office and to Congress, the difficult problems of boundaries and of taxation, and the indifference of Congress to territorial demands arising in part from the hesitancy of Republican members to admit Democratic states and the reluctance of Democratic members to admit Republican

states. The record is not complete, however, without the facts which reveal important local variations, and while it was clearly not the main purpose of the author to treat exhaustively the entire background and course of the statehood movement in each territory, he has given us many details which throw light upon subsequent events.

The body of the work consists of an analysis of the debates of the several constitutional conventions and of the constitutions which they framed. The proceedings had to be reconstructed in part from the reports given in newspapers, since the conventions in Washington and Wyoming failed to publish the records of their deliberations. In spite of this added difficulty Dr. Hicks has given us a full and readable account of the more interesting and important debates and decisions of all six conventions. By using a topical method of treatment following the main headings in an ordinary state constitution, he presents the discussions to us in a way which makes it easy to get a vision of the problems and the ideas of these constitution framers of the Northwest.

Bold to discuss but cautious to act, the conventions considered at length some highly important changes in the structure and procedure of state government but adopted very few of them. There were proposals to introduce the referendum on an extensive scale, to create a single-chambered legislature, to ensure minority representation, to establish the merit system of appointment to office, to extend the suffrage to women, and to introduce a tax system which would discourage land speculators. Practically none of these proposals succeeded. The fundamental conservatism of the pioneer was clearly shown in the unanimous refusal of these six states to make any significant departures from the standard pattern in the construction of their governments.

But if they were unwilling to alter the fundamentals, they were nevertheless influenced by the social viewpoint of the times. No one could possibly confuse the constitutions which they drafted with those of a hundred or even fifty years before. Not content to write down the bare framework of a government, they attempted to solve some of the problems of their day and even to anticipate some of the future. They were not afraid of what has been called "legislation in the constitution." They

made careful provision for the protection of the school funds and the promotion of education. They endeavored to control corporations and to prevent the development of trusts and monopolies by lengthy constitutional provisions. To prevent extravagance in local government they put restrictions upon local taxing and borrowing powers. They even looked forward to the necessity of guarding the welfare of labor and of protecting women and children in industry. In fine they attempted to write into the several constitutions some of the advanced views of the farmer and labor movements of the time.

This little summary of Dr. Hicks's excellent monograph will at least suggest its principal contents. With a style both simple and easy, the author has made an interesting volume out of hundreds of pages of dreary constitutional debates. That the work will be useful to students of American institutions cannot be doubted. An index would unquestionably have enhanced the value of the publication, but this deficiency is partly supplied by a detailed table of contents. All things considered the volume represents a commendable effort to fill a gap in the constitutional history of some of our younger states.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

Wisconsin Domesday Book, Town Studies. Volume 1. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1924. 168 p. Maps, plates.)

Dr. Joseph Schafer, the superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, has written what amounts to a review of the present volume before its appearance in the form of a paper read before the Minnesota Historical Society and published in the *MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN* for February-May, 1921. This paper, according to the introduction to the volume before the reviewer, sets forth the theoretical background of the work and affords "a means to measure the success attained in giving concrete form to the original project."

The unit in the *Domesday Book* work, we are told, is the map of the township, which usually occupies the area of the surveyor's township. A transcript of the surveyor's original plat having been prepared, upon it are inscribed the names of all farm

landowners of the year 1860. With the aid of the tract books preserved in the United States land offices, the records of all sales of land to private individuals in the state land office, the town tax rolls in the county courthouses, the indexes of land titles and dates of purchase, and the schedules of the United States census for the years 1850, 1860, and 1870, the plat is designed to reveal in outline the pioneer history of a particular township from its beginnings to the year 1870, so far as the creation of farms and their improvement are concerned. The plat, however, is but the beginning of an inquiry "which will cover a wide range of social, economic, religious, educational, and political facts relating to the area thus defined and mapped."

Mr. Schafer justifies this plan from three points of view. First, it will arouse the interest of large masses of people; second, it will enlist the coöperation in historical work of the largest practical fraction of the people; and third, it will establish the basis for an intensive study of history by localities as a method of arriving at an interpretation of the general history of America.

The illuminating and scholarly articles from the pen of Mr. Schafer which have appeared in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* have furnished abundant proof of the value of the "Domesday" survey. History students will await with keen anticipation the appearance of other studies which may be prompted by it. Whether or not the present volume measures up to the ambitious claims of the author and editor is another matter.

The introduction (p. 9-20) is a general treatise, or a broad generalization, based upon the data in the twenty-three town plats and accompanying texts. Roughly, these generalizations but confirm facts and conclusions drawn from other or similar material. We are just as certain as heretofore, but no more, that the Yankees tended to take open land, while poorer Americans and poor immigrants from abroad were unable to settle on the prairies. We read what was already known about the influence of the speculative holding of agricultural lands. Among the reasons given for the failure of foreigners to choose lands wisely, one was not revealed by the survey: The ease with which imposters could deceive men ignorant of the language and conditions

of the country. The changing standards revealed by the state census of 1905 and the United States census of 1920 are discussed for the towns collectively and by groups.

In dealing with the individual town, one page is given to the plat and survey notes and an average of about four pages to a discussion of the location, surface and drainage, types of soil, timber, beginnings of settlement, classification of farms according to area, general production, manufactures, villages, post offices, schools and churches, population changes, progress of farm-making, conditions affecting the purchase of lands, population statistics, and frequently a sketch of social conditions or a personal narrative written by some one intimately acquainted with the town. The appendix contains seven tables of agricultural statistics.

An expression of opinion as to the value of the vast project of the Wisconsin society based on the examination of the first volume of the *Town Studies* would be premature. But confining ourselves to the single volume, it must be said reluctantly that it is rather disappointing — not in workmanship, research, nor in details. Take, for example, the town of New Glarus. After studying the plat, the topographic map, and the soil map, and reading the accompanying text, doubt arises whether the interest of a considerable portion of people will be aroused. The skeptic will also ask if the time, effort, and money expended in the production of the volume could not have been turned to better purposes for the historian and the "historically-minded" people of Wisconsin. In other words, will this data assist in any large degree in arriving at an interpretation of the general history of America? On the other hand, when one visions the library space consumed by the publications of historical societies composed of eulogies, doubtful "reminiscences," and rag tag, another feeling crowds in.

At any rate, the professional historian, and let us hope the state legislature, will suspend judgment pending the completion of the ambitious undertaking. Mr. Schafer and his co-laborers will not be disturbed by the skepticism of professional historians — providing they have no influence with the legislature. Theirs is a bold, original, well-conceived experiment.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL, President of the Minnesota Historical Society and president emeritus of the University of Minnesota. Volume 2. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1924. xviii, 477 p. Illustrations, maps.)¹

The second volume of Dr. Folwell's comprehensive history of Minnesota, a volume long awaited by those who read the first, justifies the expectation that the standard of reliability and of interest set by the earlier volume would be maintained. The period covered by this new volume starts with the election of 1857 and closes with the end of the Civil War. It is, then, a book in which wars and rumors of wars predominate and dominate everything else. Minnesota, new as the state was when the struggle between the sections started, was called upon and responded to the call for her share of troops; but, withal, Minnesota had her own difficulties with the Indians during at least three of the years of the greater contest. Of the twelve goodly chapters contained in this volume all but four deal with the Indian or the Civil War.

Volume 1 of Dr. Folwell's history closed with the story of the formation of the state constitution. Volume 2 opens with the story of how Minnesota immediately proceeded to elect state officials and representatives to Congress, and, as soon as the first state legislature convened, two United States senators, despite the fact that the admission of the state to the Union had not yet occurred. This small matter, however, did not ruffle the tempers of those involved, and the whole affair was made regular by the formal act of admission. One chapter, the second, deals with Minnesota's star performance in wildcat finance, the five million loan. The third chapter has to do with the general situation, mostly political, in Minnesota just before the outbreak of the Civil War. The last chapter in the book, entitled "Gleanings," picks up the threads of the domestic narrative which were not directly connected with either of the military struggles going on during the period.

Of the eight chapters devoted to wars of one sort or another two, the fourth and the eleventh, deal respectively with "Two

¹ This review appeared in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for July 24, 1924.

Years of the Civil War" and "Minnesota Troops in the Civil War." There is no attempt to follow the general course of the national struggle; as the chapter headings indicate, the subject matter is properly the specific part which Minnesota played, together with something of the results of the war for the state itself. As painstaking efforts to depict concisely yet vividly just what part Minnesota troops took in the war these two chapters are admirable. Such a treatment does not involve a consideration of the things which lay back of the sectional strife. One may imagine, however, that the author has strong feelings on the subject and that probably few people south of Mason and Dixon's line would be able to view the whole matter eye to eye with him, and that perhaps some north of that line would be unable to agree with him.

Probably most Minnesotans will find their greatest interest in these volumes in the six chapters beginning with "The Sioux Outbreak, 1862," and ending with the "Indian Wars of 1863-65." The story is vividly told. With no attempt to glorify individuals or to overpaint the picture there is a straightforward narrative built out of minute study of voluminous and frequently conflicting accounts. The trials of the settlers and the tribulations of the Indians are all set forth. Dr. Folwell writes with no illusions about the "noble Red Man." On the other hand there comes out plainly enough the sad story of that blundering cupidity which characterized so much of the white man's dealing with the aborigines. For most persons familiar with the field there are few pages of American history which could be spared with more relief than those which tell the tale of the treatment of the Indians. The people of Minnesota and the government officials sent to deal with the Indians were neither better nor worse than those in other states or at other times; indeed, the Minnesota story, in its general outlines, is typical of what had been going on almost from the time white men landed on the Atlantic coast. The understandable but unreasoning resistance of the Indians to encroachment of those capable of using the natural resources more fully; the overreaching and debauching of the Indian by the white man; the exasperation of the settler to whom it was all an *argumentum ad hominem*, and who rarely could view the native as anything but a cumberer of the earth

to be shoved along out of the way as fast as possible; treaties secured by fraud and then callously violated — all these features, which could be found at any time from colonial days on, were reproduced in Minnesota, with, perhaps, some accentuation in certain respects.

While the general narrative of the Indian wars is contained in the six chapters of the text Dr. Folwell has incorporated in an appendix of nearly a hundred pages some of the esoteric lore he has accumulated. Indeed, some of the most readable and fascinating pages of the whole book are in this same appendix. No one who reads the account of the battle of Birch Coulee would think of missing the "Birch Coulee Monument Controversy" (Appendix 7); and after the plain narrative of the defense of New Ulm comes naturally the "First Battle of New Ulm" (Appendix 3), where the author lets all those who witnessed and left an account of the struggle tell their stories. Wisely, perhaps, he does not attempt to settle all the controversial issues which were raised: "Here are the stories they told; take your choice," is what one reads between the lines. The "Sisseton and Wahpeton Claims" (Appendix 12), told barely, with little comment, drives home the conviction received from reading the text that there is little to say when the charge is made that the whole treatment of the Indians is a chapter of shame in American history.

Just as the first volume of this history gave a close-up of what was going on all along the frontier in the days of the pioneer, so the second volume depicts the next stage of development which, with local variations, could be found in any of the states. After one has a general idea of how the story of national development runs, nothing can make it more vivid than to read an account of some portions of it in detail, and Dr. Folwell's volume supplies such detail. One sometimes regrets that the author had not the time or the space or the inclination to include in his story something more of what, for want of a better expression, may be called the general social development. In the half decade of the Civil War Minnesota was daily receiving increments of population from other parts of the United States and from Europe. Before a complete picture can be formed of the development of any portion of the Union there must be

studies which show the details of settlement, the changing economy of the frontier, the shifts in agriculture, in all phases of industry. A few of these studies have been made, others are being made, and sometime there will come the synthesis of these studies. After all, politics and war do not and did not occupy all the attention of people, and the real history of any group has to tell of humdrum affairs as well.

The people of Minnesota owe to Dr. Folwell and to the Minnesota Historical Society and its officers who have made possible the publication of the book a deep debt for these two volumes of one of the few real state histories so far produced.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

The Constitution of Minnesota Annotated (Bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota, *Publications*, no. 3). By HAROLD F. KUMM, M.A., LL.B., Formerly instructor in political science, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1924. [vii], 311 p.)

Mr. Kumm explains that "Neither in extent, nor in purpose, nor in method is the following work to be compared to a general treatise on constitutional law. . . . Decisions cannot be turned out to order for the purpose of making a clear and complete annotation." Nevertheless in this careful analysis of the decisions on constitutional questions already made by the state supreme court the author goes as far toward clarifying the meaning of the Minnesota constitution as anyone could go authoritatively at the present time. Indeed, such a compilation is probably of greater value than a "well-balanced" textbook, for it sticks closely to what the courts have actually done, it places the emphasis where they have placed it, and it avoids all idle speculation as to what they might do in certain contingencies.

In order to produce this book it was necessary among other things for the author to read and digest the cases set forth in some hundred and fifty volumes of supreme court reports. His laborious undertaking puts at the disposal of the intelligent citizen such information as ordinarily could be obtained only by consultation of a lawyer. It will be of especial value to teachers and students of government, to whom many problems here stated

have hitherto remained unknown or unsolvable. For those whose chief interest is history, however, it is far less important than Mr. Anderson's *History of the Constitution of Minnesota*, to which in a sense the present work is but an extensive supplement.

The neatness, orderliness, and general correctness of this volume reflect much credit upon the author and even more upon those in charge of the bureau for research in government of the University of Minnesota. This is the more noteworthy because of the messiness which so often characterizes the publications put out by our American universities.

JOHN D. HICKS

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

In September the nature of the work of the society was called to the attention of thousands of Minnesota people who thronged the State Exhibits Building at the state fair and looked at the display in the society's booth. The steering wheel of the United States frigate, "Minnesota," which served as the central exhibit, called up memories not only of the Civil War but also of an interesting phase of American maritime history. The chief object of the society's state fair exhibit, however, was to present a view of its activities, through charts, publications, pictures, and library, museum, and manuscript exhibits. In the same booth was an effective exhibit of the Minnesota War Records Commission.

After writing about the state historical convention at Detroit, the editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, in the September number of that magazine, delivers himself of the following sententious comment: "It was in a Minnesota village that Sinclair Lewis laid the scene of his erstwhile best seller, *Main Street*. It would be difficult to conceive of any measure better calculated to remove the curse of midwestern village life as therein depicted than the activities of this character fostered by the Minnesota Historical Society."

The August-November, 1922, number of the *BULLETIN*,—number 7-8 of volume 4,—which came from the press in October, is a bulky number containing 170 pages. Its leading article is entitled "When Minnesota Was a Pawn of International Politics," by Clarence W. Alvord. Much of the number is devoted to the historically and humanly interesting diary of Martin McLeod, edited by Dr. Grace Lee Nute; and the number also contains a report on the state historical convention at Duluth, held in 1922. Copies of this number of the *BULLETIN* have been sent to all members who joined the society before November, 1922, and copies will be sent upon request to other members of the society.

The additions to the active membership during the quarter ending September 30, 1924, numbered 85, which bring the total to 1,340. A list of the names of the new members, grouped by counties, follows:

BECKER: Mrs. E. G. Holmes of Detroit.

BLUE EARTH: David Richards, Dr. John F. Russ, Isaac N. Tompkins, and Charles E. Wise of Mankato.

BROWN: H. L. Beecher, George Gieseke, Paul Lehman, Philip Liesch, Carl Manderfield, and A. O. Olson of New Ulm; and Robert C. Dahlberg and Alexander Seifert of Springfield.

CHIPPEWA: Ludwig I. Roe and Dr. Leon A. Smith of Montevideo.

CLAY: Solomon G. Comstock of Moorhead.

DAKOTA: George R. Day of Farmington.

HENNEPIN: Hazel Burton of Excelsior; and Howard S. Abbott, Arthur C. Andrews, Frederick G. Atkinson, George M. Bleecker, William H. Bremner, Charles H. Briggs, Rodney W. Chadbourne, Mrs. George C. Christian, John Crosby, G. Nelson Dayton, Elizabeth H. Foss, Charles Gluek, Frank L. Gowen, Christian P. Grimsrud, Dr. Arthur S. Hamilton, Dr. Earle R. Hare, George Harrison, Horace M. Hill, Dr. William A. Jones, Frederick E. Kenaston, Morris B. Lambie, Dr. Rae T. La Vake, William C. Leary, Dr. Matthew J. Lynch, Mrs. Nathaniel McCarthy, John H. MacMillan, Putnam D. McMillan, Mrs. Charles J. Martin, Carroll K. Michener, William B. Morris, Guy H. Nelson, Dr. Olof A. Olson, Harry L. Robinson, Charles G. Roosen, Benjamin B. Sheffield, Dr. Norman M. Smith, Fred B. Snyder, Mrs. Hiram C. Truesdale, Leon C. Warner, Robert W. Webb, and Dr. Charles Weithoff of Minneapolis.

ISANTI: Oscar A. Olson of Braham.

LAC QUI PARLE: Dr. Herman M. Johnson of Dawson.

MCLEOD: Dr. Prosper E. Sheppard of Hutchinson.

MARTIN: Albert R. Allen of Fairmont.

MOWER: Samuel D. Catherwood of Austin.

OLMSTED: Reverend J. C. K. Preus of Byron; and Dr. David Beekman, Dr. Melvin S. Henderson, and Edward C. Kendall of Rochester.

PINE: L. C. Pederson of Askov.

RAMSEY: Dawes How, Roger Mackintosh, and Frederick C. Miller of St. Paul.

RICE: Louis Peavey of Faribault.

SCOTT: Jane Flaherty of Shakopee.

STEVENS: James B. Ormond of Morris.

TODD: Elisha B. Wood of Long Prairie.

WASHINGTON: Dr. Gustavus A. Newman of Stillwater.

WINONA: J. Russell Smith and H. L. Whitman of Winona.

NONRESIDENT: Edmund Longyear of Altadena, California; Jessie M. Watson of Washington, D. C.; Henry H. S. Rowell of Lewiston, Idaho; Bryan Gilkinson of Lawrence, Kansas; Mrs. Amelia Mohlman of New York City; Edwin E. White of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The society lost four active members by death during the last quarter: Mrs. Charles M. Loring of Minneapolis, July 29; John B. Gilfillan of Minneapolis, August 19; George J. Grant of St. Paul, September 17; and Luke A. Marvin of Duluth, September 17. The deaths of Edward M. Van Cleve of Minneapolis, an active member, on April 19, and of the Honorable Amédée E. Forget of Banff, Alberta, a corresponding member, on June 8, have not previously been reported in the BULLETIN.

The number of subscriptions to the society's publications from schools and public libraries is 144, the public library at International Falls and the library of the West Central School and Station of the University of Minnesota at Morris having been added during the quarter ending September 30.

The publication of Mr. Arthur D. White's article in the August BULLETIN on "Minnesota History in the High School Curriculum" has elicited considerable favorable comment. An editorial in the *St. Paul Dispatch* discusses the problem of state history in the schools and concludes that "Mr. White's question deserves the serious consideration of the educators of the state." The subject was brought to the attention of University of Minnesota students through the reprinting of the BULLETIN article in the *Minnesota Daily* for September 30 and October 1 and 2. In connection with the society's efforts to promote the teaching of Minnesota history in the schools, several hundred complimentary

copies of the *BULLETIN* containing Mr. White's paper were mailed to superintendents of schools together with a letter calling attention to it and to the opportunity open to schools to secure the society's publications on a subscription basis. The curriculum for elementary schools, as planned by the state department of education, calls for the teaching of Minnesota history in the fourth grade, and many teachers in consequence have written for advice as to materials. The newly published outline of American history for high school use, issued by the state department of education, advises the introduction of state and local history into this general course, and thus gives a new impulse toward the study of Minnesota history in the schools.

The society has been cleaning house during the summer. A thorough cleaning was given the entire library of books and newspapers; and the walls and ceilings in the museum rooms and the main reading rooms were cleaned and redecorated by the department of public property.

During the months of July, August, and September, 9,214 books were served to 1,527 readers in the main library—an increase of more than two hundred persons and nearly two thousand books over the service for the corresponding period in 1923. An interesting feature of the service is the extent to which the library is used by visitors from other states. Representatives from Kentucky, New York, Nebraska, Illinois, Missouri, Montana, and Wisconsin worked in the library in the single month of July, and many of them were engaged in serious investigations.

Perhaps the most striking recent increase in the use of the society's materials is that in the manuscript division. Here the number of workers from April 1 to October 1, was 258, or more than twice as many as in the corresponding period of any previous year. Among them were candidates for advanced degrees in the University of Wisconsin, Columbia University, and the University of Paris, besides, of course, the University of Minnesota. One investigator was an agent of the attorney-general of Wisconsin who found important evidence bearing on the disputed boundary between Wisconsin and Michigan;

another was a representative of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., desirous of locating material on the late Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island.

The purchase of four new walnut cases and of ten glass covered wing screens and the remodeling of four old cases have made material additions to the available space in the museum. The Victorian room has been expanded into two rooms, a living room and a bedroom, and plans for the installation of a replica of a pioneer log cabin are approaching fruition. It is expected that the work connected with the latter project will be done sometime during the winter.

"Lumber Industry Records Wanted" is the title of an item in the *Minnesota Historical News*, released to the press in October. The people of the state are asked to coöperate with the society in preserving old account books, letters, diaries, and other papers which throw light on the history of the lumber industry in Minnesota.

Dr. Wayne E. Stevens of Dartmouth College visited Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa for the society during the summer to resume his search in the historical depositories of those cities for manuscript and other materials of interest for Minnesota history (see *ante*, p. 305-307). As a result of his work the society has obtained photostats and calendar cards for a considerable number of sources on the British period of the history of Minnesota.

The article on "The Boundaries of Brown County" which appeared in the August BULLETIN is reprinted by the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm in its issue for September 26.

The Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution at its annual meeting recently voted to furnish the library regularly with the lineage books published by the national society, of which several volumes are issued each year, and to pay the cost of binding them. This sort of coöperation is very much appreciated.

The superintendent gave a talk on Minnesota history and the work of the society before the Junior Pioneer Association in St. Paul on July 9; and the curator of the museum on July 12

spoke on the history of Fort Snelling to a group of University of Minnesota summer school students whom he conducted on a trip to Fort Snelling and the Sibley House at Mendota.

The radio talks given at the Twin City station WLAG by representatives of the society were temporarily discontinued after the July talk. The fifteenth in the series, was given on July 22 by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., curator of the museum, who took as his subject "The Story of Fort Snelling." A new series of monthly radio talks on Minnesota history subjects will be given by members of the society's staff, beginning on the third Monday in October, from the WCCO station.

The radio address on "The Red River Valley in Minnesota History," given by the assistant superintendent on June 16, is published in the *Western Magazine* for September. A picture of Major Stephen H. Long and two views of Red River cart trains accompany the article.

ACCESSIONS

Some interesting documents relating to Ramsay Crooks, the president of the American Fur Company, including his certificate of naturalization, issued in 1830, have been presented to the society by Mrs. Marie Crooks Just of Frazee, his granddaughter.

Several letters written in the period from 1834 to 1848 by Gideon Pond, the missionary, have been added to the society's collection of Pond Papers as a gift from Mr. Gideon H. Pond of Minneapolis (see *ante*, 3:82-86). Perhaps the most interesting letter of the group is one written on May 19, 1834, about two weeks after Pond's arrival at Fort Snelling. It describes the region, the garrison, and the natives with all the detail one might expect from a Connecticut Yankee venturing into the Indian country for the first time.

The papers of Henry Hastings Sibley constitute one of the most valuable collections of manuscripts in the possession of the society, and for some time efforts have been made to add to this collection any Sibley papers of which trace could be found. It is gratifying, therefore, to be able to announce that the diary kept by General Sibley during the stirring days from

June 10 to September 13, 1863, when he was leading his troops on the plains in search of hostile Sioux bands, and a section of an autobiographical sketch which he began in 1884 have been deposited with the society by his daughter, Mrs. Elbert A. Young of St. Paul. Unfortunately General Sibley did not finish the autobiography, but the part which he wrote is a charming and historically important description of his early experiences on the Great Lakes and in Minnesota. Mrs. Young has also permitted the society to make photostatic copies of a number of interesting letters to Sibley in her possession.

In Miss Nute's article, published in this number of the *BULLETIN*, attention is directed to the value of the Red River settlement census records. Schedules giving many details—such as birthplace, age, religious affiliation, and possessions—concerning the settlers along the lower Red River in 1838, 1840, 1843, and 1846-47, have recently been copied by photostat for the society from the original documents in the Provincial Library of Manitoba at Winnipeg.

In 1855 the officers of the Tenth United States Infantry, upon reaching Fort Snelling, where they were stationed, wrote and signed a letter of thanks to Captain Harris of the "War Eagle," the steamboat which had brought them up the river. This testimonial, with its autographs of Fort Snelling officers and its flavor of the hospitality of the palmy days of steamboating on the upper Mississippi, has been presented to the society by Mrs. Medora Morrill of Chatfield.

Some material on the attitude of the Minnesota Democrats in the election of 1860 and a number of interesting letterheads are included in a group of fifteen manuscripts presented to the society by Mrs. Minnie Hosier of Chatfield. In a letter from J. W. Bishop, owner of the *Chatfield Democrat*, to William B. Gere, the former makes it clear that he bought his newspaper for political purposes, not as a speculation. "Pay or no pay," he writes, "I am going through 1860 with it." An interesting study, which would not be without historical value, might be made of early letterheads. In this collection of papers, for example, is one showing "A View of St. Peter, Minnesota, on the Minnesota River" in 1860.

An informing paper on logging methods, lumberjacks, and the lumber industry of northern Minnesota generally, has been presented to the society by Mr. Wright T. Orcutt of Minneapolis. His reminiscences, which were presented to the society in manuscript form some months ago (see *ante*, p. 508), have now been published under the title "Interesting Account of Lumber Industry of Northern Minnesota Told by the Son of a St. Cloud Pioneer of '66," in the *Saint Cloud Daily Times* for July 14.

A correspondence file of the State Board of Corrections and Charities for the years 1895 to 1900, containing some two hundred letters, has been received from Dr. William W. Folwell, who once served as a member of the board.

A manuscript article on the history of White Earth, written by Mrs. Julia A. Spears of Detroit, a daughter of Lyman Warren, has been received from the author.

On August 5, 1924, six men of New Ulm, Messrs. J. Anton Ochs, H. H. Walter, E. A. Stoll, August Hummell, Richard Pfefferle, and Alex Seifert, set forth on a two-day journey of historical exploration by automobile through Granite Falls, Montevideo, and Brown's Valley, to Lake Traverse. Interesting historic sites were visited and a number of persons whose memories run back to the days of the Sioux Outbreak and of pioneer settlement were interviewed. At each interview careful stenographic notes of questions and answers were taken. A detailed report of the expedition was later drawn up and transmitted to the society. The value of these recorded conversations is considerable, not only for the historical information which they contain but also for the clues which they give about manuscripts and articles of historical value.

The society's collection of objects illustrating the history of domestic life is steadily increasing. Recent gifts include a pair of fire tongs, an old-fashioned iron frying pan, and a powder pouch, presented by Mr. Robert Schofield of Tacoma, Washington; a trundle bed, from Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul; a fine old cherry desk and a tin venison warmer of unusual design, from Dr. Brewer Mattocks of Rhinelander, Wisconsin; a woman's quilted hood, a fur cap, and a pair of fur

moccasins, from Miss Gyda Magelssen of Rushford; and a Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine of an early make, from Mrs. G. C. Lambert of Bethel.

Among several interesting objects illustrating military history which have recently been received are a uniform coat, a military sash, and two sabers used by the late Major Christopher B. Heffelfinger of Minneapolis during the Civil War, presented by his daughter, Miss Mary E. Heffelfinger; a Civil War musket found on one of the battlefields near Chattanooga, given by Mrs. John H. Nightingale of Minneapolis; and several photographs of the First Minnesota Field Artillery while on duty at the Mexican border in 1916 presented, together with a number of World War items, by Mr. Duffy Ethier of St. Paul.

To the picture collection have been added framed photographs of Dr. and Mrs. H. A. L. von Wedelstaedt, presented by their daughter, Mrs. G. C. Lambert of Bethel; and two photographs of Dr. George H. Keith, given by his son, Mr. Walter Keith of Minneapolis.

Mr. Henry B. Wenzell, reporter of the state supreme court, has presented a scrapbook which he compiled during his student days in Europe from 1876 to 1879. It contains a large number of interesting ephemeral pieces such as handbills, broadsides, advertising cards, menus, and customs documents.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The average local historical museum, with its collection of "relics" assembled in haphazard fashion, is nothing but a "pitiful display of confusion," according to an article entitled "Unhistorical Museums or Museums of History,—Which?" by Arthur C. Parker, in the July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association. Mr. Parker states that the establishment of an intelligent policy by the museum curator is a first essential. By applying such a policy many items sent to a museum would have to be declined and the local museum would cease to be a "repository of rubbish." It would become "an institution where the material exhibits of community growth and development may be seen."

The new syllabus of American history for Minnesota high school teachers issued by the state department of education (1924. 62 p.) will be of interest to students of Minnesota history because it definitely recognizes the importance of correlating state and national history. It calls special attention to the syllabus of Minnesota history which has been issued in mimeographed form by the Minnesota Historical Society and it suggests that there are excellent possibilities for high school students in the writing of papers, or "original monographs," in the field of local history. The study of old houses, letters, pictures, diaries, costumes, furniture, and the like is recommended in this connection; and one of the objectives set up for papers on local history topics is "the correlation of concrete incident or movement in local history to sectional or national history." In the topical analysis of the syllabus, although some attention is given to Minnesota happenings which are connected with the national events under consideration, many opportunities for effective coördination of the two fields are missed.

"How would you like to shake hands with your ancestors?" asks the *Michigan History Magazine* in its July number. It depends upon how far back one goes. Statisticians tell us that

in the second generation back there were four, in the twelfth generation there were 4,096, and in the twenty-seventh, 134,217,728.

Among Mr. Charles F. Collisson's recent articles on agriculture and dairying, published in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, are several dealing with the methods employed in these pursuits by the Indians of the Northwest. The school at Pipestone, where dairying and animal husbandry are taught to Indian "boys and girls of nine different tribes," is the subject of the article for April 20; agricultural development on the Fort Berthold, North Dakota, reservation is described in the articles for June 22 and July 6; and an account of some primitive customs connected with the raising of corn is presented on July 20.

A defense of the traditional view of George Rogers Clark and his contribution to the winning of the West is made in an article on "The National Significance of George Rogers Clark," by Temple Bodley, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September. Mr. Bodley's vigorously stated conclusions differ considerably from the views of Dr. Alvord and several other students of western history. A very interesting paper on "Points of Contact Between History and Literature in the Mississippi Valley," by Dorothy Dondore, appears in the same number.

A brief article entitled "North West and Hudson's Bay Companies: The Predominating Influence of the North West Merchants of Montreal in the Plan of Amalgamation with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821," by Aaron Newell, is printed in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July.

The "First Annual Apostle Islands Indian Pageant," given at Madeline Island in August, consisted of eighteen episodes and required three afternoons to present. The entire pageant was given seven times. Jean Baptiste Cadotte, Michel Cadotte, Father Claude Allouez, and Daniel Greysolon Du Luth are among the characters who, by the legerdemain of the pageant master, set chronology at defiance and enter into the plot. An interesting sketch of Madeline Island, famed for its Indian, fur-trade, and missionary backgrounds, is presented in an article entitled

"Madeline and the Past," by Helen Patten, published in the *Wisconsin Magazine* for August-September.

General headquarters for the Norwegian-American centennial celebration which is to be held at the Minnesota state fair grounds in St. Paul in June, 1925, have been established at the Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis, according to an announcement in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 11. The celebration will commemorate the first group immigration from Norway to the United States.

A monument in honor of Knute Nelson has been erected in Evanger, Norway, his birthplace, by the people of that community. A speech delivered by the American minister to Norway, Mr. Laurits Swenson, on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument is printed in volume 7, number 6, of *Nordmands-forbundet*.

A considerable amount of useful biographical information relating to immigrants from the Norwegian district of Numedal appears in the *Year Book* of Numedalslaget for 1923.

The Wisconsin manifestations of nativism in the forties and fifties are dealt with in an article on "Know-Nothingism in Wisconsin," by Joseph Schafer, which is published in the September *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. In the same magazine a brief account of "The Venerable La Pointe Region," by W. A. Titus, appears. Two items of interest for the history of the Scandinavian element are included: an article on "The Swedish Settlement on Pine Lake," by Mabel V. Hansen; and an account of the Norwegian settlements in the West in 1847, by Consul General Adam Lövenskjold, who visited the settlements in the summer of that year and drew up a report to the Norwegian government which was published at Bergen in 1848. The translation is by Dr. Knut Gjerset.

A review of the early history of North Dakota is presented in an article entitled "The Colonial Period of North Dakota History," by Orin G. Libby, which appears in the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota for June. Dr. Libby states that the building of a railroad to Moorhead in 1871 and

the beginning of land surveys west of the Red River in 1868 mark the end of the colonial era in the history of North Dakota. There are many references in the article to historical events of Minnesota interest. One slight error may be noted. Mention is made of the expedition "in charge of Major Long, 1819-23, the first official expedition to the Red River valley." The Long expedition to that valley occurred in 1823; six years earlier, in 1817, Long made a journey from St. Louis to the Falls of St. Anthony.

An "archaeological and historical survey" of Washington County, Indiana, the results of which have been published in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for August (extra number), illustrates a type of inquiry which might be made effectively in several Minnesota counties under the direction of local historical societies. The survey includes township reports "on mounds, caves and quarries, archaeological collections and specimens, cemeteries, forts and blockhouses, and village sites." In each township data were assembled on first settlements, early churches, underground railroad stations, historic trees, early schools, mill sites, trade routes, historic buildings, old trails, markers, camp sites, birthplaces of noted people, and so forth. A general survey of *Historical Markers in Indiana*, arranged by counties, has been published by the Indiana Historical Commission in its *Bulletin* for April, 1924.

A valuable collection of *War Documents and Addresses*, edited by Marguerite E. Jenison, has been published by the Illinois State Historical Library as volume 6 in its series on *Illinois in the World War* (Springfield, 1923. 522 p.). The selections are grouped under the main divisions of "Public Opinion and War," "Mobilizing the State's Resources for the War," "Mobilizing Illinois Men for Service," "Preserving Law and Order in the State," "Visits of Foreign Missions," "The Illinois Centennial," "Bringing War Activities to a Close," "Post-War Legislation," and "Return of the Illinois Service Men." In presenting this collection of materials to the public the general editor, Dr. Theodore C. Pease, remarks, "Definitive historical writing on all save the purely military phases of the war will

have to be left to a generation that has not known the psychological excitement of the years 1914-1920." In the meantime the gathering up of source materials by contemporaries serves to pave the way for the future historian.

A picture of a British Columbia log house with a log-trough roof appears in the *Beaver* for December.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A mass of information on the departments, commissions, boards, and bureaus of the Minnesota state government, including some historical data, is embodied in a publication entitled *Administration of the State of Minnesota* (71 p.), prepared under the general direction of Dr. Morris B. Lambie of the University of Minnesota and issued in June by the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

"At Fort Snelling, Minnesota," "Pioneer Transportation in Minnesota," and "The Romance of the Cuyuna Iron Range in Minnesota" are the titles of three Minnesota history stories which are included in a collection of sketches for boys and girls entitled *Where Our History Was Made*, by John T. Faris (New York, 1924. 358 p.). In the second sketch an interesting account is given of the early transportation between Fort Garry and St. Paul.

"How Big is Minnesota?" is the question asked in the heading of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for September 29, which calls attention to the fact that from the Pigeon River to the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods the international boundary has not yet been fully and precisely determined.

Miss Ruth B. Teare's "Legends and Stories from the St. Croix River" continue to appear in the issues of the *Washington County Post* of Stillwater up to September 18 (see *ante*, p. 525). In the issues for July 3 and 10 the author describes the "Old Mill Stream" and the mill at Marine, which she erroneously calls the "first mill to manufacture lumber in the State of Minnesota." In these articles a survey of the growth and decline of the lumber industry at Marine is presented. The subject for

the articles in the *Post* from July 17 to September 18 is an "Autobiography of the Old Man of the Dalles" at Taylor's Falls.

In a series of four articles in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for July 13, 20, 27, and August 3, former Congressman Frank M. Eddy reviews the campaigns which preceded his election to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District in 1894 and 1896. From the point of view of a Republican candidate, he describes the sharp political contests with the Populists and the free silver advocates, and he covers in greater detail certain phases of the subject dealt with by Dr. Hicks in his article on the Farmers' Alliance in the present number of the BULLETIN. Mr. Eddy's spirited account of a huge Republican rally at Brown's Valley during the campaign of 1896, published on July 27, is reprinted in the *Inter-Lake Tribune* of Brown's Valley for July 31.

"Pioneer Days in Minnesota (1851-1857)" is the title of one chapter of a volume on *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650-1922)*, by Sister Mary L. Savage (St. Louis, 1923. xviii, 334 p.). The most interesting portion of the chapter is that which tells of four sisters of St. Joseph who, in response to a call from Bishop Cretin, came to St. Paul in the fall of 1851 to open a school. As a dwelling the sisters were given the house which was originally "the episcopal palace" of Bishop Cretin—"a low frame shanty on the bluff overlooking the Mississippi." It was "about eighteen feet square, a story and a half high, containing two small rooms, one on the ground floor and one above." A passage from the diary of Sister Francis Joseph, telling of the situation during the first winter, is of special interest, as the following extract will indicate: "We all enjoyed the novelty of our position. There was a small stove on the first floor, the pipe of which was set upright through the roof. In the opening around it, we could count the stars. Rain storms were frequent. When the rain poured down through the roof, we, like the man in the Gospel, took up our beds and walked, but only to rest in water on the other floor." In a

later chapter Dr. Savage traces the development of the "Congregation in the North," — chiefly in Minnesota — from 1858 to 1922, a record of constantly widening activities.

A brief essay on "Minnesota Labor and Legislation" appears in the 1922 *Year Book* of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor as chapter 10 in its "History of the Labor Movement in Minnesota." In the *Year Book* for 1924 a chapter on "Minnesota Labor in Politics," dealing with the period since 1918, is added.

The dramatic story of the great Indian uprising in 1862 possesses a permanent hold upon the interest of Minnesota Valley people. At the annual Fort Ridgely celebration, which was held on August 22, speeches were given on "The Nine Day Siege of Fort Ridgely," by Frank Hopkins; "The Siege of New Ulm," by Albert Pfaender; "Prisoners at Camp Release," by C. A. Fossness; and "Wood Lake Battle and Upper Sioux Agency," by John J. Mooney. Mr. J. F. Jacobson spoke on "The Old Lac qui Parle Mission" and Mr. H. M. Hitchcock described the natural features of the Minnesota River Valley. According to press reports the celebration was well attended, and the presence of Miss Rebecca Blue Cloud, a granddaughter of Chief Little Crow, added to the interest of the occasion.

James M. Goodhue, the founder of the first Minnesota newspaper, Aaron Goodrich, a pioneer judge, and Charles Kilgore Smith, the first secretary of Minnesota Territory and one of the founders of the Minnesota Historical Society, were among the twelve original Minnesota Masons, according to the brief histories of the order in Minnesota published in the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 7. The articles call attention to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the introduction of the Masonic Order into Minnesota, which was celebrated on September 8 by St. Paul Lodge No. 3, the oldest lodge in the state.

Notorious crimes committed in the Northwest during the past half century are recalled in a series of articles which begin in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 20. The stories are based upon

the scrapbooks of the late John J. O'Connor, who for many years was St. Paul's chief of police.

The story of the capture of the Younger brothers after the Northfield robbery of 1876 is told by one of the captors, Dr. A. O. Sorbel, in the *Daily Argus-Leader* of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for September 20.

The proceedings of a *Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Thomas B. Walker* on January 7, 1924, at the Minneapolis Club, have been published as a booklet of forty-seven pages. Much of Mr. Walker's speech on this occasion was devoted to an account of his first visit to Minneapolis, which occurred in 1862.

A somewhat ironic biographical sketch of James J. Hill appears in one chapter of *Strenuous Americans* by R. F. Dibble (New York, 1923. 370 p.). Seven sketches are included in the volume, but the most typical "strenuous American" is left out. Had he been included it is easy to believe that Theodore Roosevelt would have turned over in his grave, for the seven "strenuous Americans" are a strangely assorted crew: Jesse James, Brigham Young, P. T. Barnum, Mark Hanna, Frances E. Willard, Admiral George Dewey, and James J. Hill.

A *Memorial of Joseph Davis Ensign* (1924. 19 p.), a prominent lawyer of Duluth and a district court judge from 1889 to 1920, has been issued by the bar association of the eleventh judicial district. It includes addresses by John G. Williams, William A. Cant, J. L. Washburn, Henry Oldenburg, and Martin Hughes.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The history of South Bend, "which in the late fifties was a rival of Mankato," and of its "only remaining building," the Welsh Congregational Church, is reviewed in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for September 26. The article contains the announcement that the old church is to be restored by former members of its congregation.

A sketch of the history of three neighboring Minnesota towns — Lindstrom, Chisago City, and Center City — is printed in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 3.

Evidence that Minnesota is still a field for the pioneer farmer is given in the story, published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 24, of the origin and growth within the past five years of the town of Hollandale, a prosperous community of Dutch truck farmers in Freeborn County.

To mark the passing of thirty years since the publication of its first issue, the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for September 24 includes a sketch of its history by Edward C. Kiley, its founder. Interesting bits of Itasca County history may be gleaned from the narrative; for example, a list of the paper's early advertisers is fairly representative of the pioneer business enterprises of the region. Other articles of historical interest in this issue are an account of the development of dairying in Itasca County and a story of the building of the county's roads.

Another chapter has been added to the newspaper history of the state in the fiftieth anniversary number of the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel*—an issue which, according to its editor, is "frankly reminiscent." The greater part of its four sections is devoted to accounts of the business concerns of Fairmont, but fortunately space is given to some valuable articles on the history of the county and the city. The establishment of the *Sentinel* is described by Mr. Frank A. Day, its founder and editor, and the history of three earlier Martin County papers is the subject of a long article. Accounts of "66 Years of Fairmont Postoffice History," of the development of transportation in Martin County, of the fur trade in pioneer days, and of the grasshopper plague of 1873-76 also are included. But perhaps the most interesting articles in this issue deal with the "British colony" centering at Fairmont which was established in the seventies through the efforts of a promoter named H. G. Shearman. This little-known immigration project brought approximately two hundred English settlers to Martin County. Many were disappointed and returned to England; others still reside in Fairmont. One of the latter, Mr. Lenny Burton, contributes to the *Sentinel* an account of his "arrival in 1874." Among the interesting illustrations in this issue are a bird's-eye view of Fairmont in 1879, a picture of its first house, and a map of Martin County published in 1874.

A home-coming celebration in honor of the "50th anniversary of the first actual settlement in Pipestone county" was held on July 26 at Pipestone.

The tragedy of once thriving towns that, for one reason or another, were left to die lingering deaths has an appeal not only to poets but to the general public. The story of a Minnesota "deserted village," High Forest in Olmsted County, which was jilted by a railroad, is told in an entertaining illustrated article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 3.

The reunion of the Renville County Pioneers' Association, held at Olivia on June 11, 12, and 13, was the occasion for the publication of an illustrated "Old Settlers Edition" of the *Olivia Times* on June 12. Stories of the Sioux Massacre in Renville County, sketches of old settlers, and accounts of "early day politics" and of "Renville County's oldest newspaper," the *Times*, are included.

Pioneers of Rock County gathered at Hills on July 4 for an old settlers' picnic. A paper on the "Early History of Rock County," read at the meeting by Mr. J. N. Jacobson, is published in the *Hills Crescent* of July 10.

Members of the St. Croix Valley Old Settlers' Association gathered at Stillwater on September 17 for their fiftieth annual meeting.

An account of the "Early History of Madelia," by J. E. Haycraft, is published in the *Madelia Times-Messenger* for June 27.

The gay and romantic days when Lake Minnetonka was thronged with steamboats are recalled in an illustrated article by Randolph Edgar, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 20, which is based upon an interview with Captain George Hopkins, a veteran Minnetonka boatman. Mr. Edgar succeeds in giving a vivid impression of the charm and color of Minnetonka affairs when the lake was "the almost sole summer resort of the northwest."

The tale of St. Albans, a village which was platted in 1856 on Lake Minnetonka and which failed to weather the financial

storm of 1857, is recounted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 19.

Residents of Osseo celebrated at Eagle Lake on July 15 the seventy-second anniversary of the founding of their village.

The founding of Robbinsdale by Andrew B. Robbins in the late eighties and its subsequent growth are described in the *Northern Headlight* of Robbinsdale for September 17. Accounts of the industries, the schools, the churches, and the transportation facilities of the village are included.

"In Memory of Helen J. McCaine, Librarian, Who for Forty Years Devoted her Life to the Development of This Library" reads the inscription on a tablet recently placed in the St. Paul Public Library in honor of its former librarian.

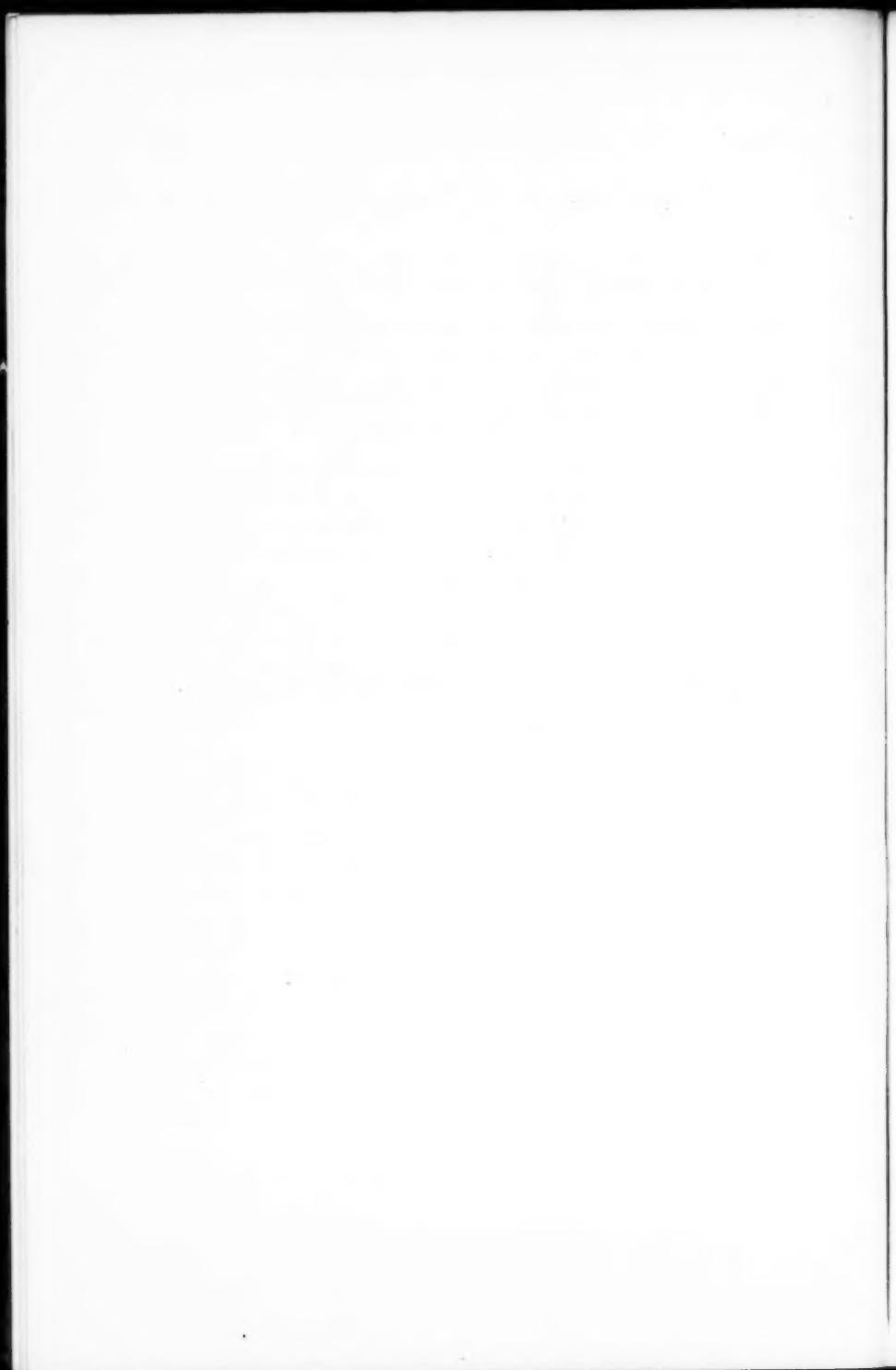
Illustrated feature articles in the *St. Paul Daily News* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of September 28 review the history of the First Baptist Church of St. Paul and announce the program for the celebration, on October 5 to 9, of its seventy-fifth anniversary. As a result of the efforts of Harriet E. Bishop the church was established by twelve pioneer Baptists on December 29, 1849. Portraits of Miss Bishop and pictures of the crude log cabin in which she taught the first Minnesota Sunday school appear with both articles.

A weekly series of informing articles entitled "The Story of Dayton's Bluff," by J. H. Colwell, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune*, beginning with the issue of September 7. The articles deal with the history of Dayton's Bluff from the days of the mound builders to the rediscovery of Carver's Cave.

Stories of strange freaks resulting from "St. Paul's only tornado," which occurred on August 20, 1904, are recalled in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 17. Storms which have played havoc in various parts of Minnesota are enumerated by Don T. Stetson in the *St. Paul Daily News* for July 6.

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TO THE
MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

VOLUME V
1923-1924



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ERRATA

Page 55, line 13, for *Arthur H. Schlesinger*, read *Arthur M. Schlesinger*.
— 57, line 14, for *Herbert W. Parkinson*, read *Herbert W. Richardson*.
— 64, line 9, for *Thomas E. Hughes*, read *Twiford E. Hughes*.
— 64, lines 12 and 13, read *the Minnesota state fair grounds, when the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of Fort Snelling was celebrated*.
— 73, line 25, for *St. Anthony*, read *St. Anthony and Minneapolis*.
— 78, line 5, for *Charles F. Collison*, read *Charles F. Collisson*.
— 79, line 8, for *Peter Schaeffer*, read *Peter Schaefer*.
— 160, line 32, for *Mrs. Frank H. Jarrard*, read *Mrs. Frank H. Jerrard*.
— 205, line 4, for 1889, read 1879.
— 238, line 20, for *August L. Lindvall*, read *August J. Lindvall*.
— 267, lines 9 and 10, for *Le Sueur Center*, read *Le Sueur*.
— 272, line 7, for *Bannock City and Virginia*, read *Bannack and Virginia City*.
— 273, line 21, for *May 17, 1858*, read *May 17, 1859*.
— 273, line 24, for 1859 and 1860, read 1860.
— 306, line 1, for *from July 16 to July 28, 1784*, read *from November 15, 1800, to June 4, 1801*.
— 343, line 11, for *Senator Foracker*, read *Senator Foraker*.
— 383, line 20, for *Dr. Knut Gjereth*, read *Dr. Knut Gjerset*.
— 393, line 22, for *St. Louis Historical Society*, read *St. Louis County Historical Society*.
— 449, lines 11 and 12, for *Thomas F. Galbraith*, read *Thomas J. Galbraith*.
— 518, line 20, for *A. H. Kohlmier*, read *A. L. Kohlmeier*.

